DOCUMENT

Directorium ad Faciendum Passagium Transmarinum,[1] II.

THE *Directorium* opens with a statement of authorship and date, and with a dedication—it is put forth, we are told, by a certain Friar Preacher who has written from his own experience rather than from hearsay; it was completed in the year 1330;[2] and it is addressed to Philip, king of the French, in other words to Philip VI. of Valois (1328–1350).

The author then proceeds to congratulate Philip on his reported intention to take up the Holy War once more: for his assistance, in lieu of military aid, which a poor friar could not furnish, he offers him this *Directory*, the fruit of more than twenty-four years of residence and of missionary labor in infidel lands. The work in question (according to the *two swords* whose sufficiency the Lord Himself attested, and according to the number of the Apostles) he has divided, he tells us, into two books and further subdivided into twelve parts. The first book, we may notice, occupies nearly four-fifths of the entire treatise and comprises eight of the twelve parts.

Part I. discusses the *motives* for "making the passage", for undertaking this revival of Crusade. We begin with the personal incentive of the example of earlier French kings, Philip's ancestors, so eminently associated with the suppression of heresy, the liberation of the Roman Church, the extermination of the Saracenic pest—as in Aquitaine, Provence, Spain, and Palestine. Next follows the desire of enlarging the bounds of Christendom, a desire which every Catholic prince must naturally feel. Under this the writer, much in

[1] The installment of this document presented in the July number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XII. 813–857, was preceded by a preface dealing with textual questions. Historical comment was deferred to the present number, and is presented briefly in the following pages. Here I must acknowledge the great kindness of Mr. R. J. Whitwell, who has unsparingly given his time and skill to examining with me many of the difficult readings of M (the Magdalen College MS.), and to whose sound palaeography I am much indebted. The text of this document, and the critical notes on the same, have already made such inroads on the space of this REVIEW, that the present article must be compressed into the narrowest possible limits.

[2] Here the Magdalen Coll. MS. (M) reads *1332*; see the July no. (1907) of this journal, p. 813.

the style of Marino Sanuto's *Secreta*,[3] draws a vigorous picture of the shrinkage of Christian frontiers, since early times, through the growth of heresy, and the inroads of that foul swine, filthy dog, and minister of the devil, " Machomet ". Only the Roman Church now remained faithful, and it was confined within a little fraction of the inhabited earth, driven by its foes, as it were, to the world's ends. Africa no longer contained any Christians; and although plenty of such might still be found in Asia, none were orthodox. Even in Europe, " our own part of the world ", many pagans[4] still remained, bordering on Germans and Poles; Saracens[5] yet held out in one part of Spain; and in various regions were Christians not of the Roman faith. Such were the Russians,[6] whose land, near to Bohemia and bordering on Poland, had an extent of more than forty days' journey; the Bulgarians, whose realm stretched for more than twenty days' march; and the numerous races of Sclavonia, inhabiting *Rassia*,[7] Servia, Crovacia (the region of Cracow), and other kingdoms bordering on the Hungarians, Greeks, Dalmatians, Albanians, and Blaqui or Wallachians.

In other ways also it could be shown that Catholic Christendom was now reduced to a very small share of the world. For Asia was much greater than commonly supposed;[8] men of the writer's day had found inhabited regions in the far north " beyond the latitude of the last Climate "; in other words, beyond the fiftieth parallel. In another direction the writer himself could support the same position. For when travelling as a missionary he not only reached the equatorial region, but once passed far beyond, into a southern latitude where he no longer saw the Arctic pole, but beheld the Antarctic at an elevation of 24° ;[9] certain merchants even claimed to have

[3] On Sanuto's *Secreta*, which furnishes many striking parallels to the *Directorium*, I beg to refer to my *Dawn of Modern Geography*, vol. III., pp. 309–319, and especially, on the subject here touched, p. 317; AMER. HIST. REV., July, 1907, XII. 810.

[4] As to these one need only refer to the heathen Prussians, the conquest of whose land by the crusading Order of Teutonic Knights occupied much of the thirteenth century, 1226–1283, and who still in 1330 comprised some pagan tribes; and the Lithuanians, whose official conversion dates only from the dynastic union of 1386 with Poland.

[5] These, of course, are the Granada Moslems, not conquered till 1492.

[6] *Ruteni* of M.

[7] This *Rassia* (or *Racia*) is the Servian Empire of the fourteenth century, occupying nearly all the northwest of the Balkan peninsula.

[8] Lit. " than appeared in the ordinary description of the Climates ".

[9] On Catholic knowledge of equatorial regions and glimpses of lands and seas still further south, in the later Middle Ages, especially in the later thirteenth and earlier fourteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Modern Geography*, III. 28–29, 133–136, 145–150, 264–267, 300–301, 416–417, 439–440, 523–524.

penetrated to a point where they found an elevation of 54° for this Antarctic pole.

From all this it clearly followed that not only Asia, but the inhabited world in general, was greater than had been usually laid down; that the assumption of Antipodes was neither false nor frivolous; and that true or Catholic Christendom, squeezed into a tiny angle of the earth, did not include one-twentieth of the same. None the less this Catholic Christendom, small as was its area, if compared to other regions in strength; in the use of arms and warlike probity; in virtue, religion, manners, morals, and the proper use of wealth; or in justice and good government—was as gold among the metals.

The third *motive* for the "passage" or crusade was a due compassion for the ruin of so many Christian peoples. For besides the avowed schismatics of the East, dragged down to hell at the tail of the Greek sect, there were various Christian peoples to south, north, and east, who—though frequently as darkened in their heresy as the Greeks, and though often following the errors of other sects—yet declared themselves to be Orthodox, and deserved the attention of true Crusaders. Such were the Goths,[10] of the same race as the famous devastators of the West; the Ziqui,[11] to the far Northeast, from whom sprang the Scythians; the Avogasi, source of the Vandals; the tribes from which the Huns descended; the Georgians or Iberians; and the Alans[12]—races whose territories had an extent of eighty days of march. In the Orient, moreover, were many Christians who lived under the dominion of the Emperor of Persia (the Mongol Ilkhan) such as those of the Empire of Trebizond "anciently Cappadocia"; the men of Greater Armenia, that "diffuse" country on whose mountains once rested the ark of Noah; and the Jacobite and Nestorian heretics.

Further south, again, was a fairly large island[13] in the Indian Sea, which the writer himself had visited, whose people practised both baptism and circumcision, and of whose manners, customs, laws, and ridiculous method of government, much of interest might

[10] On the Goths of the Crimea, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 324, 390; III. 170, 241, 564.

[11] On the Ziqui or Zicci, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 303.

[12] On the Alans in the same period (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, III. 183–185, 291, 294–295, 307; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 84–90.

[13] That it was probably Socotra has already been suggested; see AMER. HIST. REV., July, 1907, p. 811; *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, I. 193, 207, 222, 400, 423, 463; II. 259; III. 17, 145–147, 211.

be said; if the matter were not foreign to the present argument. Nor was this all. Still further south were Ethiopian Christians, a great and powerful nation, one of whose kingdoms, called Nubia,[14] bordering on Egypt, had sometimes defeated the Egyptian sultan, and who cherished a proud hope based on " prophecy ", that one day they would destroy Egyptians and Arabians together, sack Mecca, and burn the body of " Machomet ".

The fourth *motive,* the natural Christian desire of recovering the land hallowed by the life and death of Christ is discussed with great eloquence, but contains nothing of historical interest, and with this ends the first part.

Part II. is occupied with five *preambles* which must be observed before the passage is undertaken. And here, beginning with prayer and amendment of life, the author incidentally remarks with perfect accuracy upon the original conquest of Jerusalem in 639 by the Caliph Omar, the Saracen occupation of the Holy City till the crusading victory of 1099, the Christian possession of the same for the next eighty-eight years, and the final loss of Zion to the Moslems in 1187. Of this final loss, it is clear to the writer, Christian wickedness had been the all-important cause. In language like that of James de Vitry, or Burchard of Mount Sion,[15] he depicts the avarice, pomp, vanity, and indolence of the Latin prelates of the East; the abounding iniquity of their clergy and people; the irreverence, indiscipline, and disobedience of monks and friars; the abandoned life of women; the injustice of rulers and judges. Again, the *Directory* does not forget to insist upon the essential *preamble* of military order and discipline, quoting examples, not only from Scripture, but also from Vegetius and Valerius Maximus in reference to ancient Roman military policy.

The third *preamble* is peace and concord among the Crusaders themselves—a topic especially suggested by the war then raging between the foremost of Christian maritime powers, Catalans and Genoese, who for probity, valor, energy, industry, experience, loyalty, steadfastness, and the power of furnishing and maintaining naval force, were without peers. An urgent appeal is addressed to the king of France to stop this suicidal struggle through his influence on the kings of Aragon and Sicily.

For the provisioning of the expedition with grain, wine, oil, meal, vegetables, cheese, and salt meats of all kinds, Apulia and Sicily are

[14] On the Nubians of the Middle Ages, and their Christianity, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, I. 242; II. 260, 263; III. 152, 174–175, 314–315, 317, 498.

[15] See *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 213; III. 388.

specially recommended; yet here again a war had to be ended. King Robert and King Frederic must lay aside their enmities at the appeal of Philip; both of them, it might be hoped, would ultimately follow the French king on his crusade, and would devote to the service of God's army their admirable ports, especially those of Sicily, and their rich supply of ship timber. From his own personal experience the writer was assured of King Frederic's devotion to the cause and of his high merits as a crusading leader.

The fourth *preamble* (like the fifth) is concerned with the discussion of ways and means. Before the main army had actually started, everything should be made ready for the maritime transport of all those crusaders who could bear a sea voyage, as well as of victuals, arms, and engines of war such as *balistae* and instruments for bombarding or undermining the walls of camps, cities, and forts. To guard these transports, to clear the sea from pirates, and to co-operate with the land force a powerful navy was indispensable; and as the route of the land-army must lie through the empire of Romania (of Constantinople), and as Venice and Genoa held important possessions in that empire, it was obvious that Venetians and Genoese must furnish the war-ships necessary. How powerfully they could aid in the expedition was clear from the fact that Crete, Negropont, and nearly all the islands of the Aegaean belonged to Venice; and that Genoa from her town of *Capha*[16] in " Northern Tartary ", could supply so many things needful for the passage, while in the fortress-city of Pera,[17] immediately adjoining Constantinople, she held a position of unique importance. Nor was this all. Venetians and Genoese were well acquainted with the seas, ports, islands, rocks, roads, passes, and provinces of the Byzantine Empire; and many of them even knew many of the local languages, having been born and brought up in those parts.

Coming to more specific details, the writer considers that by the spring following a navy of twelve galleys should be ready to police the seas of the Levant, and especially to cut off all naval aid from the Sultan of Egypt, who was absolutely dependent upon incoming trade for his supply of arms and iron, as well as of timber for ship-building, fortifying or constructing military engines. Like Marino

[16] On Capha, Caffa, or Kaffa, the classical and modern Theodosia (" Feodosia ") on the southeast coast of the Crimea, the chief Black Sea base of Genoese trade and the greatest Catholic outpost and colony *in partibus infidelium* during the fourteenth and earlier fifteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 453–454; III. 237, 239, 249, 250, 291–292, 330, 341, 347, 371–372, 467, 477–478, 486, 536.

[17] On the Genoese in Pera and Galata, see Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, I. 432, 436–437, 445–446, 450, 454–461, 498, 502–508; II. 99; *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, III. 337, 475.

Sanuto's *Secreta,* the *Directory* would absolutely interdict all maritime trade between Latin Christendom and Moslem countries. Both works agree in considering that Egypt, from its lack of the necessaries aforesaid, would fall an easy victim to this commercial interdict.

Thus ends the second part. The third begins with the consideration of the routes to be followed by the Crusaders.

And first of all that recommended by Raymond Lull[18] along the north coast of Africa is discussed and rejected. For one thing, its length and weariness were insupportable. From Gibraltar Strait to Acre was a distance of 3,500 miles; even from Tunis to Acre it was 2,300 miles. Once more, it was a road full of danger, with difficult passes, a long stretch of absolute desert, and inaccessible or impregnable positions, forts or cities. Finally, at the conclusion of the march the Latin army, weakened by these terrible and endless labors, could only reach the Holy Land by the complete overthrow of the Soldan of Egypt himself, most formidable of Moslem powers. The only reason for St. Louis, on his last crusade, beginning his attack upon the infidel with the siege of Tunis was in all probability the nearness of Sicily, that invaluable base of operations.

The second route, by sea, starting from Aigues Mortes, Marseilles or Nice, and calling at Cyprus, is also condemned as unsuitable for all unaccustomed to maritime life. The miseries of life on shipboard, for men and horses alike, are vividly described in the style of the eighteenth-century sage (" in prison, with the additional chance of being drowned ") ; the dangers of contrary winds, of being becalmed far from land, of bad food and water, of storm and shipwreck, of violent change of climate, of an unhealthy or dangerous place of disembarcation, are dwelt upon with all the force of personal (and unhappy) experience.

Finally, the absence of any good harbor under Catholic control on the Syrian coast is insisted upon: if St. Louis suffered so much upon this passage while Acre was still in Christian hands, how much worse would be the plight of those who now adventured such an enterprise.

Thus having dismissed two of the chief possible lines of attack the *Directory* goes on to consider and approve various routes through Italy, Germany, and Hungary for the main body of the land forces. The Italian roads suggested are three. The first passed through Aquileia, rounding the head of the Adriatic, running down through Istria and Dalmatia, and so arriving at Thessalonica, a point at

[18] See *Dawn of Mod. Geog.,* III. 412, 496, 512–513, and especially 310–311.

which all the crusading armies were to unite; the second led down to Brindisi, whence one must pass over 150 miles of sea to Durazzo, Albania, Blaquia or Wallachia, and so to Thessalonica; the third brought one to Otranto, Corfu, the Lordship of Arca, and thus through Blaquia to Thessalonica likewise.

All these ways traversed rich country. The first, in its passage of Istria and Dalmatia, lay within lands of true Catholic Christians, in great part governed from Venice. True, after Dalmatia one must pass through regions not obedient to Rome; but as their inhabitants were but women in strength and courage it would be as easy as it was just to cut a path through these with fire and sword. The Durazzo and Otranto passages, again, were made easier by the dominion of the Prince of Taranto in *Duracium* and in Corfu, as well as by the Catholicism of the Albanians.

But (and here we pass into Part IV.) it is the German and Hungarian road which is ultimately selected as the best for the French king himself, and perhaps for most of his followers. By this Charles the Great had gone to liberate the Holy Land from the infidel;[19] on this, until it quitted Hungary, the crusading host would be among friends, "as at home"; after Hungary, part of the army, with the French king in person, should march through Bulgaria; the rest of his own force must proceed through Sclavonia;[20] both divisions uniting, with all the other wings of the army, before Thessalonica.

At the same time, while choosing this line for his sovereign and apparently for the main "battle", our Dominican allows, and even urges, the use of other tracks above indicated, by sections of the expedition. None, indeed, should go by Africa, unless the entire venture were devoted to African conquest, which might be achieved by so great a force, but could not be attempted by less. The maritime peoples could make their passage by sea. By Italy might advance the Lombards, the people of the Marches and of Apulia, and others bordering upon this route. The ways by Brindisi and Otranto are specially recommended, not only for Tuscans, Romans, and Italians of the South, but also for Provençals. All, whatever their line of progression, were to unite at Thessalonica; and those who had to cross the Adriatic straits must be sure that their transport was ready, adequate, and swift.

In his next part (V.) the author discusses whether any treaty

[19] Behind this myth lies the truth of Charlemagne's pilgrim-hospice in Jerusalem, and diplomatic intercourse with the Eastern Caliphate, for the protection of Christian travellers to Syria; see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, I. 172.

[20] *I. e.*, through the Serb empire of *Rassia* or *Racia*.

could be made with, or any trust reposed in, the Emperor of the Greeks, or the Sclavonian King of *Rassia*; and whether the crusaders might justly invade and conquer the dominions of these princes. Here again he is perfectly definite. The Greeks were full of malignant hatred for true Roman Christianity; when they took wives from Catholic races they compelled them to renounce their Latin creed; Greek churches which had been used for Latin worship were purified as if under pollution; Greek confessors treated theft or robbery from Latins as a matter free from blame. Out of the evil treasure of the Greek heart, again, came the deadly poison of all the heresies which had afflicted the Church; at its tail Greek error dragged down the Christian nations of the East into a pit of blindness and perdition.

With such heretics the French kings, ancient pillars of Roman orthodoxy, could not make pact or truce; a treaty of this kind would befool all the Catholic missionaries and diplomatists who had labored in the Levant; would condone the usurpations of the Palaeologi, usurpations which had especially affected the rights of the royal house of France; and would ignore the treachery of a people, which in old days had mixed live coals with the bread of their Latin guests, and scuttled their ships in the very harbor of Constantinople.

In the course of this philippic, the *Directory* gives us not only a list of heresies (Arian, Nestorian, etc.) due to the perversity of Greek intellect, but also glances bitterly at the life and "treasons" of Michael Palaeologus, at the expulsion of Latin dominion from Constantinople, at the massacre of Latins in the Imperial City on this occasion (still attested by the mound of bones in a crypt near *Bucca Leonis*), at Michael's pretence of submission to the Roman See, at his intrigues against Charles of Sicily, and at his successor's blasphemous reversion to the schism of the Greeks. As to the rulers of *Rassia,* their character is sufficiently proved by a chronicle of their recent actions—their conspiracies, usurpations, blindings, murders, the deeds of wretches so monstrous that in this family a father might be found to kill his guiltless son with his own hands.

Could there be any doubt that the army of God might justly invade and conquer both the Byzantine Empire and *Rassia,* and thus repeat the glorious deeds (here dealt with at some length) of those who, on the Fourth Crusade, had once already planted a Latin Empire in Constantinople?

In his Sixth Part our Dominican attempts to show how easily this conquest of the Greek Empire and of *Rassia* might be effected. For one thing, the cowardice of the Greeks equalled their deceit,

trickery, and delight in successful fraud. The author had himself witnessed a disgraceful overthrow of the late emperor outside Constantinople by a handful of Turks; he tells us also of a yet more ignominious defeat inflicted on the same sovereign near Adrianople by the Catalan *Society*,[21] now established in the Duchy of Athens.

Thus the pusillanimous Greek, whose only resource was flight, was encircled and oppressed by a ring of foes, the Tartar, the Turk, the Slav, the Bulgar, and many another; thus the empire of the Palaeologi had fallen into a desolation, depopulation, and enslavement, truly lamentable. The author himself, when in Persia, saw multitudes of Greek slaves, of either sex, and of every age and rank, sold like cattle in the public markets; families and lovers ruthlessly parted; all alike compelled to embrace the faith of their purchaser, be he Moslem, idolater, or Jew. Within the Persian Empire (the Mongol Ilkhanate) there were now, it was said, more than 400,000 of these wretched captives of the Eastern Church. Who could number the Greek slaves that had been sold in other empires of the Tartars or in Egypt; who could reckon the multitudes of Greeks destroyed by hunger, fire, and sword? Never had the writer visited a foreign land where he had not seen Greek slaves.

The conquest of the Greek Empire was rendered still more easy by the effeminacy, licentiousness, folly, ignorance, and timidity of its head, a vain fool, useless in war, faithless even for a Greek, the obedient tributary of Tartars, Turks, and Catalans; who yet, worthless as he was, appointed, removed, and punished the priests of his Church, even the highest, as he would. Our friar had seen four deposed patriarchs living at one time in ignominy and seclusion; such was the " Universal Bishop " of the Greeks, their vaunted " successor of Peter ", their " Vicar of Christ ".

In the Seventh Part, continuing his discussion of the same subject (how the Greek empire might be conquered) the *Directorium* plans out in full detail a scheme of siege operations against Constantinople. And first the city is carefully and well described. Its shape was triangular; each side of the triangle six miles long; one side only facing the land, the others bordering the sea. It was entirely encircled with walls, not very high or formidable, but quite uninjured, and in one part double. The population was small for so great a compass of walled town; scarce one-third of the city-space was inhabited; the rest was all gardens, vineyards, fields, or waste. The people were utterly unwarlike, mostly consisting of merchants,

[21] On this Catalan Grand Company, see Finlay, *History of Greece*, edition of 1877, III. 388–408; IV. 129, 147–156, 244, 300; VI. 160.

mariners, artificers, fisher folk, and husbandmen; the nobles, few in number, were weak as women, timid as Jews. The attack upon the city should be both by sea and land; the latter should be mainly directed upon the neighborhood of the Golden Gate. Here the assailants, being near the sea, could easily be aided by their naval forces; the walls and trenches were not formidable; and with rams, ladders, fire, and cages for hoisting the storming parties upon the walls, success was almost certain at this point. For the naval onslaught (rendered so much more practicable by the deep sea, without rocks or shoals, which came right up to the walls) great vessels should be prepared, with lofty castles, fitted with a complete apparatus of military engines. Especially to be recommended for this work was a kind of "edifice" by which 500 men (or more) could be discharged upon the walls at one time, and which the writer had seen when he accompanied Martino Zaccaria[22] of Genoa in his wars against the Turks. This naval hero, now by treachery become a prisoner of the Greek emperor, had done more than any living man in fighting Turks at sea: several of his victories had been won in the author's presence.

The *Directory* concludes these counsels in the art of war with the suggestion of covered vessels called *barbotae,* and of siege-machines called *uxeria.* In the former, crew and warriors, invisible under their penthouse lids, could securely run up under the face of the enemy, rake the foe with their missiles, and undermine the defences at their foundation. In the latter, iron-shod beams with sharp points could be swung on ropes for smashing gates and ramparts; fireballs and sacks filled with stones could be shot into the air to fall with burning or crushing effect upon the defenders and their houses.

With such preparations, plans, and instruments, the besieging host might hope to storm Constantinople in one day; the Imperial City once taken, the two remaining strongholds of the Greeks, Thessalonica and Adrianople, were as good as won. The author concludes this part of his work with a well thought-out summary of the obvious advantages which the possession of the Byzantine realm would confer upon the crusaders. Needless to say, he takes no account of the racial antipathy which would so heavily subtract from the strategic side of the account.

Part VIII., concluding the First Book, outlines the policy to be

[22] On this famous partizan leader (the nephew, as the *Directory* adds, of Lord Benedict *Zacharia* "whose fame in naval deeds still lives"), see Finlay, *Greece* (1877), III. 429; *Dawn of Mod. Geog.,* III. 222, 233.

pursued in the conquered lands of the Greek Empire, and deals, in a sort of appendix, with the ways and means of subjugating *Rassia,* and with the ease and advantages of such a conquest.

First of all, when Catholic rule had been restored in Byzantine lands, all Latins who had deserted their creed and race, unless they recanted, were to be punished with death or banishment.

Banishment was likewise to be the fate of the Greek monks, called *Calogeri*; whose influence, grounded on hypocrisy[23] and intrigue, must be crushed if the Latin dominion was ever to be made secure. In every family where two or more sons could be found, one was to be educated in "Latin letters". Heretical Greek books were to be diligently sought out and burnt, the Western Inquisition being set going against all kinds of heresy, living and dead. After the conquest, the clergy and people of Constantinople were to be gathered in St. Sophia to make a public profession of the Roman faith, and a public submission to Latin domination; the Frank Emperor meantime remitting certain taxes. Monks were no longer to have the monopoly of the episcopate and the confessional; and the Byzantine conventicles, private chapels, and oratories, nests of conspiracy and sedition,[24] were to be rigorously suppressed.

As to the conquest of *Rassia,* it was not a matter of any difficulty. The country possessed scarcely any strongholds, and no walled fortresses; on the other hand it contained settlements of men of Latin civilization bitterly hostile to Servian rule. A list of these settlements, comprising Antivari, Dulcigno, Scutari, and three others, is here appended; and it is pointed out that besides the Latin settlers of the shore-land the Albanians equally professed the Catholic religion, equally detested the unbearable slavery of the Slav dominion, and equally longed to wash their hands in the blood of these abominable masters. A Frank army of a thousand knights and five or six thousand foot-soldiers would easily subdue the whole of *Rassia,* thereby performing a deed more truly acceptable to God than the subjugation of an even greater Saracen territory. For the land was indeed delightful. It abounded in corn, wine, oil, flocks, and herds; it was diversified with pleasant springs and rivers, groves and meadows, hills and valleys, rich plains and great woodlands; finally its gold and silver mines were not to be forgotten—five of such were already worked.

[23] By eating certain seeds, our author declares, they "appeared unto men to fast", thereby gaining the necessary emaciation, etc.

[24] The *Directory's* account of these shows intimate knowledge and is among the most curious passages in the work.

Thus ends the First Book; the First Part of the Second Book (which is also the Ninth Part of the treatise as a whole) discusses various Eastern races with whom the crusaders and their royal leader must needs have much to do, but of whose trickeries they must beware. First came the Armenians, the worst and most faithless heretics of the Oriental world—save only for those of Little Armenia or Cilicia,[25] who had made a kind of union with the Roman Church. In this union the author had been a prime agent, being one of the two Dominicans whom Pope John XXII.[26] had specially designated for this work. It was, therefore, from intimate knowledge that our friar declares this union to be one of fear and necessity rather than love, and accuses the Armenian Uniats of defrauding the Latins in well-nigh every particular. Next in order were the *Gasinuli*,[27] the mixed offspring of Greek and Latin parents; the Syrian Christians; the *Murtati*, descendants of Greek alliances with Turks, the worse offspring of two bad bloods; and the *baptized Neophytes*, converts from Moslem races—among whom there was scarcely even a choice of evils. Deceit, cowardice, greed, turbulence, cruelty, drunkenness, gluttony, treachery—such were the qualities of these wretches, and especially of the mongrel races and sham proselytes here noticed.

The French king, however, must be ready (while ever on his guard against such ruffians) to win them to the service of the Holy War by all the bounty, kindness, and indulgence that might be needed. For as spies and scouts they were priceless; and in journeying through difficult country, in avoiding hostile snares, in securing and storing booty, and in winning the inmost secrets of the enemy, the wise leader would make use of them to the full.

On the other hand, in regard to the execrable people called *Assassins*[28] (of whom the writer had heard somewhat, though he had never seen any) there was no advice to be given save that of strict unvarying caution in admitting no one to the royal presence without full knowledge of his errand and antecedents.

[25] See Stubbs, "Mediaeval Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia", in *Seventeen Lectures*, pp. 179–237; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, II. 238, 456–457; III. 52, 313, 325, 330, 473, 483.

[26] 1316–1334, the most vigorous patron and organizer of Asiatic and African missions among the later medieval popes; this closer union of Lesser Armenia with Rome was in 1318; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, III. 181, 206–207, 211–213, 221, 239–240, 311–312, 497–498.

[27] These are the *Guasmul* of Marco Polo (in a slightly different sense); see the 1903 edition of Yule and Cordier, I. 289–292, and especially 292: the term (*Gasmul, Basmul*, etc.) occurs frequently in Byzantine historians, *e. g.*, George Pachymeres, Nicephorus Gregoras, and Nicetas Choniates.

[28] On the Assassins, see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, II. 239–240, 255, 589–590; III. 63, 256, 287; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 133–136.

Part x. (Book II., Part II.) is devoted to a further exposition of the military and other advantages resulting from the choice of this line of advance—by Constantinople and the Bosphorus[29]—and from the policy of attacking the Turks of Asia Minor, in the first place, rather than the Egyptian sultan. In particular, the suggestion of beginning the campaign against Islam by way of Little Armenia is examined and refuted: this country, the *Directorium* strangely declares, had no harbor except the poor and confined Portus Palorum;[30] its provisions were inadequate for a great army; its frontier passes were held by the Sultan of Egypt. The last-named potentate could not come to the aid of the Turks, for he would lay himself open to the onslaught of his mortal foe, the Tartar Emperor of Persia. In this connection the writer recalls Ghazan Khan's invasion of Syria[31] in the hope of being supported by Catholic armies from the West.

Part XI. (Book II., Part III.) describes the chief supply-centres of the East from which the crusading army must re-victual and refit. In Thrace, on the west or back of Asia Minor,[32] there was the grain emporium of Rodosto, the wine market of Gannos, and others. In Macedonia, likewise to the west of the *Asia* that was now *Turkey*, Thessalonica and three other places furnished abundant corn, barley, and vegetables. To the right or south of *Turquia* Negropont, the Duchy of Athens, and other regions yielded wine, oil, and cheese; while to the left or north, along the shore-lands of the Euxine or Pontic Sea and the Sea of Tana (Azov) were so many excellent and celebrated bases for provisioning in cereals, flesh, fish, honey, wax, and other necessaries that it was needless to enumerate them. No less bountiful were the resources of Asia Minor itself, a land so rich in all the goods of earth that one might fairly call it another Egypt or another Paradise.

Finally, in Part XII. (Book II., Part IV.) the author sets forth the reasons why there was every hope of a speedy and complete victory over the Turks. Their cup of wickedness was full; they were hopelessly divided among themselves; their strength had suffered

[29] Which the *Directorium* calls, indifferently, *Bosphorus, Hellespont,* and *Arm of St. George*; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, III. 395.

[30] Yet the much greater and more celebrated haven of Lajazzo was still flourishing; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, II. 456–457; III. 24, 45–49, 52, 192, 313, 325, 330, 468, 473, 483.

[31] A. D. 1299. The *Directory* wrongly makes *Casan* take Damascus.

[32] This land, remarks the *Directory,* though now called *Turquia,* was the ancient and Scriptural *Asia,* where the Seven Churches lay, called by the Greeks "Anatolia". It was tongue-shaped, having the sea on three sides, the Ægean to the right or south, the Pontic (Euxine) sea to the left or north, the Hellespont towards the back or west.

wonderful diminution; they now depended on slaves and hirelings (largely Christians in origin, ready to desert at the first opportunity) to fight their battles; their equipment for, and knowledge of, war seemed only fit for children's sport. True, they had many horses, but small and weak, and neither steeds nor riders carried defensive armor. Even the offensive weapons of the Turks were absurdly inadequate. Conscious of their weakness, they fought only by simulated flight, by ambushes, and such-like devices. Finally they lived in terror of the fulfilment of a prophecy that in the last days their seat would be destroyed by a lord of the Franks. The Moslem dread of a new crusade was widespread; when the author was in Persia, and the news came abroad that Pope Clement[33] had proclaimed the Holy War afresh, the panic of the populace was such that the Frankish sword might have been already at their throats. Our friar, who "had seen almost every nation of the East go out to war", knew for a certainty that the single power of France, without allies, could overwhelm Turks, Egyptians, Arabs, Persians, Tartars, and Indians.[34]

Thus ends a work in every way remarkable, whether we regard it as an outcome of the Catholic mission-movement which so largely contributed to the Asiatic expansion of Latin Christendom in the Mongol Age (1245–1370); or as an example of the militant spirit, which, after the failure of the Syrian Crusades, strove to revive crusading ardor; or as a scheme of policy whose ruthless and reckless intolerance contrast forcibly with the comparative caution and liberality of most of the leaders and writers of the great age of medieval overland intercourse.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

[M. 14 r; P. 45] *Explicit quinta pars.* [1]*Sexta pars per quatuor facilitates ostendit ad imperium capiendum.*[1]

Si igitur, Domine mi Rex, propter praedicta vestrae circumspectionis [2]prouidentiae videatur[2] de vestro itinere sancto spetti[3] hostes tollendi tam antiquum malum delendum, tam inveterati proditores in

[33] *I. e.*, Clement V. (1305–1314); this reference is probably to 1308.

[34] The Indian missionary, Jordanus the Dominican, bishop of Kulam in Travancore, writing at this very time, expresses the same confidence; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, III. 234–235. There are many interesting points of contact between the *Directorium* and the *Mirabilia* and *Letters* of Jordanus.

[1] *Sextam ostendit per quatuor facilitates*, M., which omits *ad imperium capiendum*.

[2] *Prudencie videat*, M.

[3] *Spreti*, M.; P. has a mark of correction here, but nothing in the margin to answer to it.

se et in suis genitoribus penitus submouendi sicut est quilibet praedictorum, ut in praemissis aliqualiter est expressum, ad sextam partem hujus directorii me extendo; et erit quatuor causas ostendere per[4] quas videbitur facilitas tam praefati regni quam imperii capiendi.

Prima causa est quia gens Graecorum [5]perfidiam imitatur[5] postquam fidem et obedientiam Romanae Ecclesiae dereliquit, quatuor bona perdidit[6] quae fidem ab ipso mundi exordio comitantur. Primo enim perdidit Deum, qui per fidem dignatur in cordibus fidelium habitare. Secundo prudentiam, quam consueuerunt[7] quondam toti uniuersali Ecclesiae mutuare. Nam totaliter prudentia et scientia periit inter eos. Tertio[8] vitae sanctitas[9] quam ostendunt miracula,[10] penitus non existunt, quae puritatem[11] vitae ac fidei protestantur. Quarto armorum probitatem, per quam consueuerunt sua dominia conseruare, hostes subdere, inimicos conterere et fugare, et longe[12] lateque nomen suum et gloriam dilatare.[13] Hodie namque ab omnibus suis vitantur[14] turpiter et subduntur. Haec quae narro cum in Constantinopolim siue Pera, quod idem est, degerem contigerunt. Turchorum vix duo milia Imperatorem Michaelem patrem istius qui modo illic imperat cum decem milibus et amplius militibus existentem in campo quem [15]vallabat peditum maxima[15] multitudo viliter deuicerunt[16] et turpiter fugauerunt. et in praedam ejus tentoria et thronum imperialem atque coronam et multa alia spolia habuerunt. Cathalani[17] etiam, qui modo vocantur societas quae nunc est in ducatu et dominio Athenarum qui non habebant duo milia quingentos equites, ex quibus non erant ducenti homines de sanguine militari, eundem Michaelem cum quatuordecim milibus[18] existentem et cum peditum [19]multitudine copiosa aggressi fuerunt[19] cum audacia disperata, et ipsius[20] ordinatas acies destruxerunt, fugauerunt, et de ipsius exercitu multitudinem maximam peremerunt, et ipsum Michaelem de equo turpiter dejecerunt. Sed adjutus a suis et in equum alium subleuatus fugit e [P. 46] praelio [21]grauiter vulneratus,[21] quem

[4] *Propter,* M.

[5] *Et illi qui Grecorum perfidiam imitantur,* M.; P. corrects, in margin, *imitatur* to *imitata.*

[6] *Parat perdit,* M.

[7] *Consueuit,* M., which of course has *prudencia, sciencia,* below.

[8] Here M. has *3°*, another early case of Arabic numbering.

[9] *Sanctitatem,* M.

[10] Here M. adds *inter eos namque miracula.*

[11] *Veritatem,* M.

[12] M. omits *longe.*

[13] *Dilicare,* M.

[14] *Vincuntur,* M. P. corrects, in margin, *omnibus suis vitantur* to *hostibus suis vincuntur.*

[15] *Vallebat maxima peditum,* M.

[16] *Deuixerunt,* M., which reads *tronum,* below.

[17] *Cathalarum,* M.

[18] Here M. adds *equitum.*

[19] *Multitudinem aggressi fuerint,* M., omitting *copiosa.*

[20] *Ipsi,* M.

[21] *Attritus et vulneratus,* M., omitting *grauiter.*

etiam fugientem insequentes[22] in ciuitatem Andrinopolim[23] includi fecerunt et ibi obsessum diebus plurimis tenuerunt. Postmodum totam[24] illi [25]ciuitati adjacentem[25] patriam cursitantes ferro et incendiis lustrauerunt,[26] castra multa ceperunt, et ab illo loco usque ad terram, ubi nunc sedes detinent alienas, fere omnia destruentes, nullum praelium inuenerunt. Sic Graeci miseri sunt facti pusillanimes et excordes, ipsos[27] diuina gratia deserente et ultione debita persequente quod Tartarus eos circumcingit[28] et conculcat. Turchus subigit et captiuat,[29] Sclauus, Bulgarus, et hostis quilibet ipsos inuadit, exterminat, et annullat, nec spem habent nisi in consueto vocabulo *fyge fyge,*[30] quod in nostro Latino est dicere *fuge fuge.*

[31]Secundo facit[31] ad dictum imperium acquirendum ipsius lacrymabilis depopulatio et lamentabilis solitudo, castra diruta, ciuitates desertae, villae solitariae, agri succensi, populus captiuatus, nobiles facti praeda, sexus uterque in seruitatem ductus ante faciem subsequentis, nec est nisi expertus qui posset credere populi hujus afflictionem et multitudinem servitutis. Ego cum in partibus Persidis commorarer, vidi saepius Graecorum multitudinem captiuorum utriusque sexus, aetatis, et gradus, qui cum gemitibus et suspiriis ducebantur et quasi jumenta in foro pure[32] vendebantur.

Separabantur ab inuicem mater a filio, filius a patre, amicus ab amico, et carus a caro, dum unus istum comparat, alter illum. Dispergebantur sic tristes et miserabiles in diuersa, se mutuo amplius non visuri. Et quod pejus omnibus erat, illam quam suus emptor sectam seu perfidiam obtinebat, siue Sarracenus esset aut idolatra vel Judaeus, illam oportebat emptitium [33]profiteri, [M. 14 v] abnegato[33] cultu, fide, ac nomine Christiano. Et sic transductis,[34] venditis, ac seductis plusquam CCC. M.[35] esse in solo imperio Persidis asseruntur. Quis ergo poterit[36] numerare quot de ipsis in alia imperia Tartarorum[37] et in Aegyptum et[38] alia mundi climata sunt venditi et dispersi, praeter innumerabiles[39] qui fame, igne, et gladio sunt consumpti. Nunquam fui[40]

[22] M. omits *insequentes.*
[23] *Andripolim,* M.
[24] Here M. adds *diebus plurimis tenuerunt postmodum totam.*
[25] *Cuius adiacentum,* M.
[26] *Vastauerunt,* M.
[27] Here M. omits *ipsos.*
[28] *Conterit,* M.
[29] *Captiuus,* M.
[30] *Fige, fige,* M., which inserts *dicere* above line, as correction.
[31] *Secundam facilitatem facit,* M.
[32] *Puplice,* M., which reads *optinebat, Saracenus, ydolatra,* below.
[33] *Profiteri, profiteri, tum abnegato,* M.
[34] *Traditis,* M.
[35] *CCCCM,* M.
[36] M. omits *poterit.*
[37] *Tartorum,* M.
[38] Here M. adds *ad.*
[39] *Innuerabiles,* M.
[40] *Sui,* M.

ad quasdam et quantumcunque extraneas[41] nationes ubi Graecos non viderim captiuatos. Sicque in ipsis maledictio completa esse videtur per Moysen durius[42] imprecata populo Israelis Dominum deserenti. *Tradet te Dominus corruentem,* ait, *ante hostes tuos. Per* [P. 47] *unam viam egredieris*[43] *contra eos, et*[44] *per septem fugias et dispergaris in omnia regna mundi.*

Tertia facilitas ad capiendum imperium satis patet, si attendatur quod in Graecorum capite temporali non est consilium, non est fortitudo, non est prudentia, non est virtus. Si enim caput eorum esset sanum, validum, atque forte, profecto corpus subditum bene regeret ac seruaret, et ad menbra cetera ipsa se diffunderet[45] valitudo, cum bonum regimen corporis a bona dispositione capitis proueniat[46] et descendat. Nunc vero iste qui nunc est caput et rector eorum sic est effeminatus[47] et omni carnalitati deditus et subjectus, sic est ab omni strenuitate armorum et experientia segregatus, sic est ab omni militari prudentia alienus quod nec tantae destructioni imperii nec tam euidenti direptioni sui populi occurrere vult [48]seu valet. Quinimo[48] populus ille, qui dudum dominari consueuit omnibus nationibus orientis, qui fortes ac validos populos et ferreas nationes solitus fuit atterere ac subdere sub tributo, nunc sub isto et in isto Imperatore ab omnibus suis vicinis hostibus imperatur et tributis seruiens est effectus ad imperialis nominis dedecus, opprobrium[49] et jacturam. Ipse namque factus est Catalanis de ducatu Athenarum, qui vocantur societas, et Turchis ac Tartaris plusquam seruus[50] dum contra eos non audet bella mouere nec etiam cogitare. Imo per tributum quod offert annuatim[51] singulis praedictorum cum solicitudine et timore suam vexationem redimit, quin potius vilitatem, cum gentes praedictae aut sint ita pauci quod de ipsis non esset penitus mentio facienda, aut certe sint tales quod ad fugam apti sunt potius quam ad bellum, si iste Imperator haberet in se aliquam probitatem aut prudentiam vel prouidentiam imperium disponendi aut virtutem et audaciam resistendi. Ad se ipsum ergo ordinatus non est, nec ad subditos, nec ad Deum, bibulus, ebriosus, lubricus,[52] infidus, plusquam Graecus, [53]ambitiosus, superbus,[53] elatus, vanus,[54] vacuus omni bono,

[41] *Exermas,* M.
[42] *Diucius,* M.
[43] *Egrediaris,* M.
[44] M. here omits *et.*
[45] *Defundent,* M.
[46] M. omits *pro.*
[47] *Estimatus,* M.
[48] *Aut . . . Quinimmo,* M.
[49] *Opprobium,* M., which reads *Turcis, immo,* below
[50] *Suus,* M.
[51] *Annuanti,* M.
[52] *Libricus,* M.
[53] *Superbus, ambiciosus,* M.
[54] Here M. adds *et.*

videri Imperator et bonus[55] dici appetit plus quam esse. In promissis ipse fallax, in juramentis[56] mendax, non videtur in malitiis erubescere, sed in iniquitatibus[57] potius gloriari.

Quarta facilitas est, quia etiam populus ille Graecus non solum, ut praedicitur, in suo temporali capite titubat tremulus et infirmus, verum et[58] sub spirituali [P. 48] rectore jacet morbidus[59] et infectus. Ut enim quidam ait eximius prophetarum abstulit ab eis Deus validum et fortem judicem et prophetam ariolum et magnum honorabilem vultu consiliarium et sapientem et prudentem eloquii mystici. Non enim est in viris ecclesiasticis debita sacerdotalis dignitas aut judicialis auctoritas, non vitae ac morum nisi ficta et simulata sanctitas vel honestas, non scientiae vel doctrinae veritas, quibus populus corrigatur a malis, defendatur in aduersis, prouocetur et augmentetur[60] in bonis, instruatur in veris, abducatur a[61] dubiis et a falsis. Sed re vera caecus coeco praestat regimen[62] ducatum, et sic ambo in foueam proruunt et[63] ruinam. Ad tantum lapsum et ad tantum casum est illa quondam inclita nunc abjecta Graecorum Ecclesia deuoluta quod Imperator, licet sit in se monstrausus,[64] ut praedicitur, et deformis, Episcopos et[65] Abbates indifferenter et pro suae libito voluntatis constituit, transfert,[66] destituit, restituit, capit, proscribit, incarcerat, atque punit. Ipsi Patriarcham suum reputant, licet falso, uniuersalem et unicum ac solum esse in terris Petri Apostoli [M. 15 r] successorem et super omnes mundi Ecclesias vicarium Jesu Christi. Et licet apud[67] eos idem Patriarcha tantae auctoritatis[67] et excellentiae habeatur, tamen ego vidi quatuor simul viuos per Imperatorem depositos et abjectes et quintum, qui viuentibus et videntibus quatuor supradictis patriarchale nomen et gradum ac praeeminentiam[67] obtinebat non sine timore depositionis pariter et tremore. De omnibus eorum ineptiis quas circa istam materiam obtinent et obseruant dicere per singula extra nostrum propositum fieri videretur. Hoc tamen dico, quod Ecclesiarum ipsarum[68] ordinatio non videtur apud homines oculatos [69]nisi quidam[69] typus

[55] *Boni,* M.

[56] *Juramento,* M.

[57] *Iniqus,* M., without contraction-sign.

[58] *Etiam,* M.

[59] *Moribundus,* M., which reads *mistici,* below.

[60] *Augmententur,* M.

[61] Here M. omits *a.*

[62] Here M. adds *et.*

[63] *Ei,* M.

[64] *Menstruosus,* M.

[65] *Et,* M. omits here.

[66] *Transferri,* M.

[67] *Preminenciam,* M., which reads *autoritatis* above and treats *apud* as if a proper name, with capital.

[68] *Ipsorum,* M.

[69] *Quidem,* M., omitting *nisi.*

phantasticus[70] ludentium puerorum; qui postquam dignitatem illam trufaticam tenuerunt, domum reuersi, sunt pueri fatui sicut ante. Patria ergo sine capite debito, sine duce, cujus gens absque consilio et sine prudentia, et populus insipiens atque stultus, cujus ciuitates desertae, portae destructae, sacerdotes gementes, et ipsa oppressa[71] amaritudine et repleta, patet quod sit faciliter capienda.

Explicit sexta pars. Incipit septima pars, quae sub se continet duas partes.

Septima pars hujus directorii duas sub se particulas continebit. Et prima dabit modum quomodo imperium faciliter capiatur. Secunda autem ostendet [P. 49] facilitates[72] quas ex captione hujusmodi passagium consequetur.[73]

Primo ergo dandus est modus per quem imperium faciliter capiatur. Circa quod sciendum est[74] quod pars illa imperii quam nunc occupat hic tyrannus tres principaliores continet ciuitates. Prima et major ac caput imperii[75] est Constantinopolis, secunda[76] Thessalonica quae ambae situm[77] suum obtinent super mare. Tertia est Andrinopolis distans per quinque paruas dietas a Constantinopoli infra terram. Ciuitas Constantinopolis est satis in plano territorio situata, et est in modum trianguli figurata;[78] cujus quidem latus quodlibet demonstratur sex miliaria continere. Unum vero latus extenditur super terram, duo autem alia super mare. Muros habet undique, et in aliqua sui parte duplices, licet non altos, tamen integros et illaesos. Licet vero tanti sit ambitus, paruus [79]populus tamen[79] ibi commoratur respectu ipsius continentiae ciuitatis. Nam vix de ipsa ciuitate pars tertia habitatur. Reliquae vero sunt [80]horti vel[80] campi aut vineae[81] aut desertum.

Populus ejus sunt piscatores, aut[82] mercatores, seu marinarii, vel artifices, seu[83] fossores, nobiles autem pauci, inermes ut mulieres, timidi et pauidi ut Judaei, sicut illi qui non nouerunt unquam ad bella procedere nec in acie militare nec contra hostem aliquem arma ferre. [84]Ciuitatis ergo praeparetur[84] obsidio in hunc modum, per terram[85]

[70] *Fantasticus,* M.
[71] *Aspersa,* M.
[72] *Utilitates,* M.
[73] *Consequatur,* M.
[74] Here M. omits *est.*
[75] *Innperii,* M.
[76] M. omits *secunda.*
[77] *Scitum,* M.
[78] *Situ rata,* M.
[79] *Tamen populus,* M.
[80] *Orti aut,* M.
[81] *Vnice,* M.
[82] M. omits *aut* here.
[83] *Aut,* M.
[84] *Ciuitati . . . prepararetur,* M.
[85] Here M. adds *quidem.*

videlicet et per mare, [86]per terram quidem[86] ad portam quae dicitur aurea et circa in[87] quatuor vel quinque locis seu pluribus secundum quod visum [88]fuerit expedire.[88] Ideo autem dico ad portam illam, quia est juxta mare, unde haberi poterit subsidium liberius et succursus. Est etiam ibi murus non multum altus, fossata non profunda, quae etiam faciliter poterunt adimpleri. Nulla ibi alicujus alterius[89] aedificii muro propinqua interius altitudo major. Insuper est ibi interius et exterius solitudo. Atque cum porta illa capta fuerit atque[90] aperta, ingressus facilior cunctis erit, et tam equitum quam peditum contra partem illam ciuitatis[91] quae habitatur erit cursus liberior et aggressus. Ducum[92] autem exercitus erit de arietibus ad muros ubi possibile [93]videbitur diruendos, de citoniis[93] ad ponendum homines armatos absque omni periculo[94] super muros, de scalis muris etiam applicandis, de [P. 50] igne ad portas ubi ingressus esse debuerit succendendas, et de aliis ad hoc opportunis[95] et necessariis cum dispositione congrua prouidere. De machinis autem pro ista ciuitate non est necessarium cogitare. Non enim sunt, ut praemittitur, alti muri nec fossata ita[96] profunda quin possint applanari.[97] Et tunc cursim[98] equites et pedites cum scuto et lancea in omnibus illis sex miliaribus quibus [99]ciuitas adjacet[99] super terram ipsam poterunt [M. 15 v] impugnare. Nec etiam ad partem illam sunt turres altae, nec castella, nec palatia supra muros aut etiam juxta ipsos. Ad partem autem ciuitatis quae situm obtinet supra mare, quae respicit versus Peram, de qua quidem Pera feci superius mentionem, sciendum quod mare est muris[1] propinquum in aliquibus locis ad duas, in aliquibus autem[2] ad mediam lanceam militarem, in aliquibus etiam ipsos muros percussit[3] ciuitatis, ita quod inter ciuitatem et mare paruum et artum spatium remanent[4] strictae viae. Mare tamen [5]ita modo debito[5] est profundum, sine scopulis, sine petris, quod nauis quantumcunque[6] magna ad quatuor vel sex palmos[7] juxta terram vel

[86] M. omits these three words.
[87] M. omits *in.*
[88] M. omits these two words.
[89] *Alti,* M.
[90] *Et,* M., which reads *cunta,* above.
[91] *Ciuitas,* M.
[92] *Dudum,* M., which reads *excercitus,* below.
[93] *Videbatur . . . et ciconiis,* M.
[94] Here M. adds *et formidine.*
[95] *Hec oportunis,* M.
[96] *Et,* M.
[97] *Possint faciliter complanari,* M.
[98] *Cursum,* M.
[99] *Aiacet ciuitas,* M.
[1] *Nimis,* M.
[2] Here M. adds *Ad unam* [*vn-*], *in aliquibus.*
[3] *Percutit,* M.
[4] *Remanet,* M.
[5] *Modo debito ita,* M.
[6] *Quantum* only, M.
[7] *Palmas,* M.

ad plus ad unam cannam potest assumere vel deponere onus suum. Igitur ad impugnandum ciuitatem modo debito per hanc partem naues magnae et vacuae praeparentur[8] cum altis propugnaculis et castellis, cum aperta[9] in grauellorum et varii generis balistarum et super quamlibet[10] nauium aedificium valde utile ac facile erigetur, per quod et de quo super muros et turres quadringenti[11] simul et semel vel amplius homines deponentur operti et muniti cum omnibus suis armis qui de muris et turribus aduersarios abigendo, ascensuris aliis locum dabunt per scalas ad hoc industrie praeparatas. Hoc aedificium vidi prius quando bellum contra Turchos, cui ego[12] interfui, gerebatur per Dominum Martinum Zachariae ciuem Januae, industrium utique probatum ac strenuum hominem et fidelem, qui de Turchis me praesente[13] plures victorias obtinuit et triumphos, qui fuit nepos Domini Benedicti Zachariae quondam, cujus in factis maris adhuc celebris fama viuit. Praefatum ergo Dominum [P. 51] Martinum tenet Imperator nunc[14] dictus Graecorum proditionaliter captum et indebite ac injuste[15] in carcere vinculatum: quem si [16]haberetis, quem et, si[16] velletis, Domine mi Rex, faciliter haberetis, haberetis utique hominem qui plus egit quam aliquis quem credam viuere super terram maris varios actus belli arduos, strenuos, ac honestos, utpote qui nunquam contra fidelem Christianum aliquando[17] arma sumpsit, sed semper contra Turchos nostrae fidei inimicos experiri voluit[18] vires suas, quibus intulit saepius plagas magnas, quem procul dubio possetis exponere ad omnia quae fidelitatem expeterent et [19]omnem requirerent probitatem.[19] Praeparabuntur etiam [20]barchae multae in modum tecti[20] bipendentis [21]coopertae desuper,[21] quas barbotas vocant, in quibus remiges[22] et armati homines non videntur,[23] ipsi vident omnia circumquaque, de quibus balistarii hostes cogunt secedere in muris[24] ac propugnaculis existentes. Istis igitur balistariis cum barbotis circumeuntibus[25] juxta litus et sua spicula certius jacientibus contra hostes, nullus[26] audebit in muris eminus apparere. Et

[8] *Preparantur,* M.
[9] *Apparatu,* M.
[10] *Qualibet,* M.
[11] *Quadringente,* M.
[12] *Ergo,* M.
[13] *Presentes,* M.
[14] Here M. adds *ducc.*
[15] *Iuste,* M.
[16] *Hereticis quem si,* etc., M.
[17] *Aliquem,* M.
[18] Here M. adds *et exercuit.*
[19] *Onum* [contraction mark for *omnium* not given] *probitatem . . . acquirerent,* M.
[20] *Brache . . . recti,* M.
[21] *Desuper coopertae,* M.
[22] *Remige,* M.
[23] Here M. adds *et.*
[24] Here M. adds *et turribus.*
[25] *Circuentibus,* M.
[26] *Nullos,* M.

tunc alii ad hoc studiosius ordinati cum arietibus atque palis poterunt liberius murorum diruere fundamenta. Praeparabuntur etiam uxeria quorum multiplex erit usus.[27] In aliquibus enim trabes ferratae disponentur rostrum habentes ferreum et acutum, per funes inter duos malos in longum et infra [28]corpus breui[28] appendentes et per portam puppis exterius[29] ad leuem impulsum portae ciuitatis percussae celerius confringentur et muri fortius quatientur. In aliis autem uxeriis erunt machinae quae[30] quadraginta vel quinquaginta lapides trium vel quatuor librarum simul proicient in sacco aliquo implicatos. Quando vero saccus erit in altum cum lapidibus eleuatus, cum inceperint descendere saccus frangetur, et[31] dispergentur, et tecta domorum, quae sunt de valde fragili et vili materia, destruentur. Post haec in aliis uxeriis aliae machinae disponentur, quae in vasis ad hoc idonee praeparatis ignitos globos proicient et flammatos, et in domos cadent quas inuenient sine tectis. Et tunc[32] domus, quae omnes de ipsa ciuitate, exceptis paucis palatiis, sunt de lignis, incendio conflagrabunt. Oportebit [P. 52] ergo quod tunc hostes muros deserant [M. 16 r] cum viderint se bello et igne undique circumseptos et quod subueniant incendio ciuitatis, aut certe quod obedientiae subiciant colla sua. Nec dubium quin istis per terram et per mare ita dispositis, et bellis ut praemittitur et aggressibus ordinatis et undique pariter inchoatis, infra unius diei spatium [33]capietur.[33] Ista autem non descripsi ut credam [34]omnia fore necessaria ad praedictam victoriam obtinendam, cum non credam[34] imo sciam ipsos non esse sufficientes ad resistentiam faciendam. Sed ideo haec praemisi ne forte tunc essent aliqui de occidentalibus populis qui suae obliti fidei atque legis, inducti promissis, et pecunia[35] seducti, ad obuiandum[36] huic negotio tam utili, tam[37] salubri ad ampliationem fidei orthodoxae, et qui praesumerent ad defendendum istos haereticos manum dare; licet etiam de hoc nihil penitus sit curandum aut in aliquo formidandum. Jam enim per paruum satis exercitum Balduini hanc ciuitatem bis legimus esse captam, quando scilicet erat magis plena populo et referta, et quando imperium in suo flore vigebat et in suo robore perdurabat, nec erat tunc ab hostibus sic inuasum et a diuersis gentibus dissipatum.

Ciuitas Thessalonica ab illo exercitu capietur qui per [38]Hydruntum et per Brundisium[38] transfretabit et per Dalmatiam et Rassiam trans-

[27] *Versus*, M.

[28] *Corus vrerii*, M.

[29] Here M. adds *exeuntes cum quibus.*

[30] Here M. adds *ad.*

[31] Here M. adds *lapides.*

[32] *Cum*, M.

[33] *Ciuitas capiatur*, M.

[34] M. omits these ten words, *omnia . . . credam*, reading *innino* for *imo* just after.

[35] Here M. adds *et.*

[36] *Obiciendum*, M.

[37] *Causa*, M., which of course reads *excercitum*, below.

[38] *Ydrontum . . . Brundusium*, M.

migrabit. Nam ad hunc[39] finem direxi in Thessalonicam supradictos. Et licet ipsius ciuitatis magnus ambitus sit murorum, qui etiam in parte aliqua sunt destructi, tamen intus populum paruum habet vilem, timidum, et inermem. Hoc etiam bonum est pro nostris quod muri in tanta circumferentia extendantur. Nam, quanto plures partes habebit de se facere populus iste vilis, tanto minor erit in eis virtus et possibilitas resistendi. Haec ciuitas per Marchionem Montisferrati cum satis paruo exercitu fuit capta, cui conquirenda per Balduinum in conquesta imperii quam supra tetigi fuit data. Huic ciuitati, cum sit in plano et super mare posita, bellum undique potest dari, licet non judicem fore necessarium quod per mare fiat aliquis apparatus. Ipsam enim terrestris exercitus cum dispositione congrua faciliter[40] obtinebit.

De Andrinopoli et aliis ciuitatibus imperii atque castris non me diffundo [P. 53] quomodo valeant obtineri. Capta enim Constantinopoli ciuitate, quae caput est omnium illarum partium ciuitatum et totius imperii firmamentum, ceterae omnes continuo colla subdent.

Consequenter secundo dicendum de utilitatibus quae ex captione hujus imperii subsequentur. Inter alias autem utilitates, quas plurimas esse constat, septem breuiter explanabo. Prima utilitas est quod ouis errabunda et dragma perdita ad suum dominum et ouile debitum reducetur, Ecclesia videlicet Graeca in viris quondam illustribus vita, virtutibus, et miraculis gloriosis, verbo, doctrina, et scientia luminosis, foetosa in suis egressibus et abundans. Sicut autem dragma perdita[41] nisi post euersionem domus in qua mulier ipsam perdiderat nunquam potuit inueniri, sic nec istam unquam recuperare poterit sine metu perdendi pia mulier Romana Ecclesia Christianorum omnium mater una, nisi Graecorum domus, id est, ipsorum dominium penitus subuertatur et ab eis regnum per materialem gladium auferatur et detur genti quae faciat fructus ejus. Alias autem Romana Ecclesia quod dragmam perditam illam inuenerit[42] non poterit veraciter gratulari. Jam enim dudum veri pastoris gregis dominici Romani Pontifices spiritualem gladium sunt[43] experti, dum ouem illam per deserta errorum et scismatum oberrantem ac relicto grege fidelium per inobedientiae calles singulariter deuiantem conati sunt reducere monitionibus, reprehensionibus, punitionibus,[44] Nuntiis et Legatis, ac modis variis et diuersis, parati ipsam per offensarum et transgressionum dissimulationem atque remissionem super [M. 16 v] humeros paternae patientiae supportare ac in sinum maternae dilectionis et[45] misericordiae refouere. Quae licet aliquando crediderit et ad ouile debitum pastorem verum atque sollicitum sit secuta,

[39] *Hanc,* M.
[40] *Facili,* M.
[41] Here M. adds *cum.*
[42] *Inuenerat,* M.
[43] *Sicut,* M.
[44] *Peticionibus,* M.
[45] Here M. omits *et.*

tamen vagari[46] solita, superba, semper inobediens et rebellis, cito nimis unitatis septa disrupit,[47] et tanquam indomita et feralis mansuetudinis atque subjectionis confregit vincula et abjecit. Nec debet quis paruum aliquid reputare, quando sola haec utilitas et non alia ex passagio sequeretur, si Graecorum spirituale et temporale dominium ad unitatem fidei et obedientiam Ecclesiae [48]reduceretur seu reuocaretur,[48] ut sunt Rutheni, Sclaui, Gothi,[48] Georgiani, Blaqui, Alani, et quidam alii populi, qui omnes Graecos in suis ritibus et erroribus imitantur. Secunda utilitas est quod [P. 54] de[49] ipso imperio habebitur pro toto exercitu bladi, vini, et carnium abundantia copiose; nisi forte deficerent [50]segetes et vineae.[50] Quod raro contingit ut si deficiat una regio, alia non abundet. Et tunc, ut inferius designabo, prouideri poterit de remedio opportuno. Tertia utilitas est, quia illo imperio conquisito non oportebit exercitum Domini dubitare de hoste quem post se reliquerit qui possit ei moliri[51] insidias, suscitare inimicitias, ordinare fraudulentias atque dolos, quae[52] consueuerunt jugiter emanare a Graecorum falsitatibus et proditionibus consuetis, sed tantum ad interiora [53]contendet se extendere,[53] coram se publicos fidei hostes habens, quos sicut puluis ante faciem venti diuino fretus auxilio tribulabit. Quarta utilitas est quod nauile cujuscunque generis habebit portus optimos et securos varios et diuersos ac plurimum opportunos, in quibus [54]poterunt noua nauilia[54] fieri, antiqua vel fracta reparari, integra conseruari, et non jam sicut in aliena sed[55] sicut in domo propria hyemare vel cum expedierit aestiuare. Cum enim peccatis nostris exigentibus ab Alexandria Ægypti usque Constantinopolim non sit portus aliquis habitatus, in quo sufficienter atque secure possit cum suo nauili exercitus declinare, qui non ab hostibus fidei teneatur, ut inferius declarabo, patet quod accomodum[56] et utile nimis erit ut per modum praedictum portus proprii habeantur. Quinta utilitas est, quia tunc illi qui vos, Domine mi Rex, in hoc tam sancto negotio subsequentur, ibi poterunt tutius applicare, equos et sua corpora recreare, ac sibi de necessariis prouidere, siue per mare illuc peruenerint, seu per terram, cum vos praeparaueritis eis viam et ante ipsos processeritis pandens iter. Sexta utilitas est, quia illud quod de terra sancta et de aliis dictis[57] terris infidelium capietur, per istud acquisitum imperium

[46] *Vaparii,* M.

[47] *Dirrupit,* M.

[48] *Reuocentur multe namque gentes et magne ad vnitatem fidei reducentur ut sunt Ruteni . . . Goti . . .,* M.

[49] Here M. omits *de.*

[50] *Segites aut vinee,* M.

[51] *Molliri,* M., which of course reads also *habundancia, habundet, oportuno, oportunum, puplicos, tucius, suplebant.*

[52] *Qui,* M.

[53] *Se contendet extendere,* M.

[54] *Potuerunt noualia,* M.

[55] *Set,* M.

[56] *Comodum,* M.

[57] M. omits *dictis.*

poterit conseruari ad quod super omnia judico insistendum. Nihil enim valet optata conquirere nisi homo studeat acquisita[58] solerti vigilantia conseruare. Ad hoc enim antiqui Romani saepius et attentius diminutam vel perditam militiam per nouos exercitus reparabant, legiones supplebant, consules renouabant, ut rebelles contereret, perdita conquireret, conquisita protegeret victoriae auida recens virtus. Quod autem [59]Graecorum imperium[59] ad conseruandam[60] conquestam terrae sanctae sit plurimum opportunum, [P. 55] hoc ostendi poterit ex duobus, videlicet ex antiquarum historiarum narratione, et ex loci aptitudine et dispositione. Ex antiquis namque historiis manifeste collegitur et habetur quod florente in fide imperio et in[61] suis viribus perdurante, sceptrum orientalis dominii [62]monarchice ac imperterrite[62] obtinebat, et[63] hostilis barbaries cum sua perfidia marcescebat. Quando vero et quantum imperium hoc coepit a recto calle deficere et a viis prioribus declinare, tunc et[64] tantum hostium truculenta [65]saeuitia [M. 17 r] incepit[65] cornua suae dominationis erigere ac suae immanitatis viribus praeualere. Hoc in Heraclio ñ ciũ[66] legitur habuisse: qui cum de Cosdroë famosum illum triumphum et victoriam reportasset, et crucem sanctam et ciuitatem Hierusalem mirabiliter liberasset, tandem per errorem Monothelitarum,[67] qui unam tantum naturam in Christo fuisse suis assertionibus mentiuntur, quam tunc Cyrus Alexandrinus[68] Episcopus et Sergius Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus ausu sacrilego praedicabant, fuisse asseritur deprauatus, et tunc protinus per Humarum discipulum perfidi Machometi terra sancta inuaditur, capitur, et excepto modico interuallo, quo ipsam recuperando tenuimus, per infideles usque ad haec tempora possidetur. Hoc malum continuationem habuit in illis qui postmodum Heraclio successerunt. Nam ex tunc vix inuenitur quod in parte vel in toto infidelis non fuerit Graecorum Imperator, vel populus, vel uterque. Et sic ipsorum perfidia succrescente, et militia torpescente, aduersariis audacia jungitur, victoriae succedunt, triumphiproueniunt, vires crescunt in tantum quod fere usque ad muros ciuitatis Constantinopolis sua dominia produxerunt. In tota Asia et minori in qua late et diffuse Graeci dominium obtinebant, nihil modo relinquendum possident, aut perdendum, nisi quaedam loca minoris Asiae, quae hostibus undique circumsepta trepidant in perditionis formidine ac

[58] *Conquisita,* M.
[59] *Imperium Grecorum,* M.
[60] *Conseruandam,* M.
[61] Here M. omits *in.*
[62] *Monarchie ac inperterite,* M.
[63] Here M. omits *et.*
[64] Here M. omits *et.*
[65] *Se cepit,* orig. M.; *uicia* added later, below line.
[66] *Inicium,* M.; P. corrects in margin, reading *initium.*
[67] *Monelitarum,* M., which reads *Eraclio, Ierusalem,* above; *Cirus, Macometi, subcrescente, nichil, Asye,* below.
[68] *Alexandrius,* M.

timore. Nec dubium igitur, si imperium de manu infidelium tolleretur, et ibi fides catholica sub obedientia Romanae Ecclesiae celebraretur,[69] et ab erroribus et haereticis purgaretur, atque in statum antiquum et pristinum poneretur, quin statim hostes ut prius [70]dominia benigniter[70] contereret ac fugaret. Idem enim est Deus justus et pius, qui sicut per infidelitates et praua [P. 56] opera ad iracundiam prouocatur, ita per fidem et opera ad misericordiam reuocatur. Utilitas etiam haec patet ex loci dispositione. Post acquisitionem enim terrae sanctae non posset [71]illic suboriri[71] aliquid nouitatis quin posset per imperium faciliter subueniri. Et hoc satis patet diligentius intuenti, si respiciatur ipsius ad terram sanctam propinquitas, viarum maris et terrae facilitas, locorum habilitas, et portuum diuersorum commoditas, et multa alia quae [72]superius sunt[72] praetacta et inferius disserentur. Septima utilitas est, quia sicut emargunt[73] casus varii et diuersi, si contingeret exercitum aggrauari, seu de nobilibus vel de[74] aliis quibuscunque quempiam infirmari aut certe impediri, vel redire [75]exercitus principem[75] siue mori, ad loca imperii possent reduci et ibi moram contrahere et foueri sicut in domibus propriis siue terris atque sine impedimento, detrimento et formidine expectare donec per salubre remedium quod deest [76]contingeret, suppleretur.[76]

Explicit septima pars. Octaua pars continet ordinationes quas acquisito imperio fieri oportebit ut imperium in Francorum dominio conseruetur.

Post utilitates ostensas quae ex capto imperio subsequentur, consequenter sex ordinationes ponendae sunt, per quas quidem ad veritatem fidei et unitatem Ecclesiae atque ad fidelitatem Domini ipsum poterit imperium conseruari. Quilibet[77] in suo sensu[78] abundat. Ego autem has fore necessarias judico et affirmo sicut me scientia et experientia docuerunt. Circa quas quia hactenus non fuit adhibita diligentia[79] et cautela, Francorum ibi dominium quasi flos faeni, quod hodie est et cras tollitur, fuit semper. Ergo in ista octaua parte ordinationes istae breuiter subnectantur.

Prima ordinatio est, quod omnes Latini qui fidem et Ecclesiam catholicam verbo vel opere aut utroque pariter negauerunt et Graecam perfidiam usque ad haec tempora sunt secuti, nisi resipuerint,[80] tanquam

[69] *Coleretur,* M.
[70] *Diuina benignitas,* M.
[71] *Illuc suborriri,* M.
[72] *Sunt superius,* M., which reads *comoditas* above.
[73] *Emergunt,* M.
[74] Here M. omits *de.*
[75] *Principem exercitus,* M.
[76] *Continget supleretur,* M., which reads *adquisito, habundat,* below.
[77] Here M. adds *autem.*
[78] *Usu,* M.
[79] Here M. adds *debita.*
[80] *Respuerint,* M.

haeretici tradantur curiae seculari poena debita puniendi. Si autem redierint, in perpetuum [M. 17 v] cruces ferant, et extra totum imperium in exilium relegentur, et perpetua sint infames, ut sic lux catholicorum ab haereticorum tenebris diuidatur.[81] Hujusmodi enim contra fidem et Ecclesiam Romanam ejusque[82] filios et cultores sunt,[83] fuerunt, et erunt indubie[84] nequiores quam illi qui a matris ubere Graecorum erroribus et proditionibus sunt imbuti, tanquam illi quos nequam spiritus et immundus cum septena [P. 57] nequiorum spirituum comitiua sibi in domicilium et requiem legitur elegisse. Secunda, quod omnes monachi, quos Calogeros id est bonos senes appellant, de toto imperio expellantur et per diuersas partes occiduas dispergantur, nisi vellent a suis erroribus resilire[85] et eos publice abjurare et[86] fidem catholicam Romanae Ecclesiae profiteri. Et tunc Inquisitores nihilominus ordinentur, qui contra relapsos[87] inquirant diligentius et procedant. Ipsi enim Calogeri humilem habitum deferentes multae fore abstinentiae se fingentes per comestionem quorundam[88] seminum, qua faciem suam [89]extenuant, vultum pallidum,[89] ut jejunantes appareant, hominibus ostendentes, ac per quaedam suspiria et verba humilia, procelli[90] ac vultus retorsionem et oculorum conuersionem[91] quandam sanctitatis imaginem praetendentes, lupi vero rapaces in ouium vestimentis, et hypocritae plusquam ficti, sepulcris similes dealbatis, ita Imperatorem et nobiles, clerum et populum uniuersum obtinent dementatos quod quicquid dixerint credunt, quicquid jusserint exequuntur.[92] Ipsi eos in odio Romanae Ecclesiae, in obstinata[93] suae perfidiae, in duritia scismatis, in coecitate erroris erudiunt, nutriunt, et confirmant. Ipsi fel, ipsi fermentum, qui Graecorum antiquam dulcedinem sanctitatis[94] in amaritudinem conuerterunt, et totam illius massam Ecclesiae[95] corruperunt. Quandiu[96] illi cum libertate consueta durabunt, illa semper nutabit[97] Ecclesia, semper in fide illi nobiles, ille clerus et populus titubabunt, semper ibi Francorum dominium instabile permanebit. Tamdiu cum se catholicos simulabunt, tamdiu cum suis

[81] *Diuidantur,* M.; the next word in M. could be either *huius* or *huiusmodi.*

[82] *Eius quod,* M.

[83] Here M. adds *et.*

[84] *Indubio,* M.

[85] *Resilere,* M., which reads *puplice, nichilominus, commestionem, ymaginem,* below.

[86] *Ac,* M.

[87] *Lapsos,* M.

[88] *Tam,* M.

[89] *Exteriant, vultu quorum palidum,* M.

[90] *Per colli,* M., as P. corrects in margin.

[91] *Conuersionem,* M.

[92] *Exequentur,* M.

[93] *Obstinacia,* M.

[94] *Sanctitatem,* M.

[95] M. omits *Ecclesie.*

[96] *Quamdiu igitur,* M.

[97] *Mutabit,* M., which reads *ypocrisi* below.

fictionibus, hypocrisi, ac simultatibus[98] suum cooperient cor iniquum, donec suis falsitatibus et proditionibus consuetis Francorum dominium, quod sibi jugum reputabit[99] onerosum tanquam animal indomitum atque ferox, a se reicient ac[1] repellent. Ad hoc, nisi praecaueatur, satis sibi consentaneas orientales inuenient nationes; quae nouitates, quomodocunque[2] finiri debeant,[3] incipere non formidant. De his ea quae dixi an ita sint satis inueniet firmitates qui antiquas historias perscrutatur.

Tertia ordinatio est, quod quicumque plus quam unum filium habuerit, alterum ad scholas[4] ponere teneatur Latinis literis imbuendum.[5] Et nisi quod litera Graeca una de principalibus tribus extat[6] quibus tripliciter crucifixi Domini nostri titulus est inscriptus, consulerem salubriter, prout aestimo, et prudenter [P. 58] ut omnis[7] illa litera deleretur. Ad hoc autem bene posset modus possibilis inueniri. Non enim puto nec putant illi qui inter Graecos fuerunt aliquo tempore conuersati quod ipsi totiens ad vomitum reduxissent,[8] si deletis propriis, Latinas literas habuissent. Et ideo[9] dico Graecorum pueros nostris literis imbuendos, ut saltem cum adoleuerint scientia et aetate, in nostris libris illa videant et intelligant per se ipsos quibus ipsorum errores rationibus veridicis ac Scripturarum testimoniis confutantur et sana fides pariter et doctrina Ecclesiae roborantur, et sic alios confirmabunt, et ipsimet in fidelitate dominii[10] verius atque[11] liberius absque mutatione aliqua perdurabunt. Quarta ordinatio est, quod quia Graeci habent libros quos ipsorum antiqui aut etiam moderni[12] haeretici conscripserunt,[13] in quibus errores plurimi[14] contra Romanam Ecclesiam ejusque filios multae blasphemiae continentur, per certos viros ad hoc specialiter deputatos cum [M. 18 r] diligentia perquirantur, contra ipsos detinentes adhibitis [15]minis, terroribus, atque poenis.[15] Cumque praedicti libri inuenti fuerint, protinus comburantur. Quinta ordinatio est, quod in templo[16] sanctae Sophiae adunetur totus clerus et populus ciuitatis, ita quod unus ad minus de principalibus ciuibus[17] domus teneatur ibi praesentialiter[18]

[98] So M.; P. corrects in margin to *simulationibus.*

[99] *Reputant,* M.

[1] *A,* M.

[2] *Quoque,* M.

[3] *Debent,* M.

[4] *Scolam,* M.

[5] *Imbuendus,* M.

[6] *Exstat,* M.

[7] *Omnino,* M.

[8] *Rediissent,* M.

[9] *Ido,* M.

[10] *Domini,* M.

[11] *Ac,* M.

[12] *Noui,* M.

[13] *Conscripserint,* M.

[14] Here M. adds *contra fidem et.*

[15] *Iniciis et erroribus atque penis,* M.

[16] *Templum,* M.

[17] *Ciuilibus,* M.

[18] *Principaliter,* M.

conuenire. Et facto sermone ad populum, ad confessionem vocalem[19] nostrae fidei tunc per eos expressius faciendam atque ad unionem et obedientiam Romanae Ecclesiae ac summi Pontificis adducantur. Deinde approbando Francorum dominium, eidem spontanee se submittant, et obedientiam atque fidelitatem una voce [20]pronuntient et promittant.[20] Consequenter ibidem imperiales laudes incipiant unanimiter decantare sicut per eos alias suis Imperatoribus est fieri consuetum. Tunc Imperator aliquid de angariis seu tributis toti populo benigne relaxet quibus Imperatores Graeci consueuerunt populum aggrauare, ut sic Imperatoris noui solium in misericordia praeparetur. Sexta ordinatio est, quod [21]Ecclesiae modo debito disponantur.[21] Sunt enim in Graecorum Ecclesiis quaedam hactenus obseruata quae in magnam subuersionem dominii possent esse si sic in posterum perdurarent, sicut [22]etiam alias[22] noscitur [P. 59] contigisse dum[23] totaliter Francorum dominium destruxerunt et de suis finibus usque ad haec tempora expulerunt. Primam obseruantiam habent quod semper Calogerus in omnibus Ecclesiis Episcopus ordinatur, et nunquam aliquis, quantaecunque[24] excellentiae clericus secularis. Et cum hoc fere in omni castro seu villa aliquis de ipsis Calogeris in Episcopum ordinatur. Et sic prout volunt errores et scismata concitando, populorum corda sollicitant, et propter sanctitatis falsam imaginem quam praetendunt, et propter [25]quam praeminent dignitate,[25] magni et simplices eis credunt et quod [26]jusserint obedientius exequuntur.[26] Secundam obseruantiam habent quod in toto imperio non est religio nisi una, istorum[27] scilicet perfidorum. Sunt autem ibi abbatiae[28] plurimae diuites et potentes. Et quia non est ibi, ut praemittitur, religio nisi ista, oportet quod isti ipsas obtineant abbatias. Et sic ad malum jungitur fortitudo.

Tertiam obseruantiam habent ut nullus clericus secularis, cujuscunque famae aut[29] opinionis existat, in aliquo loco imperii confessiones audiat quorumcunque, sed soli Calogeri ad istud officium deputantur. Et sic, dum Calogerus confessor eligitur, dum Calogerus Abbas praeficitur, dum Calogerus Episcopus ordinatur, sequelam maximam post se trahit, et ad exequendam suam iniquam et subdolam volantatem obtinent[30] imperii totam summam.

Quartam obseruantiam habent quod ad suas Ecclesias, siue sint Calogerorum, siue secularium clericorum, conueniunt extraordinarie

[19] *Notalem,* M.
[20] *Pronunciant et promittent,* M.
[21] *Ecclesia . . . disponatur,* M.
[22] *Et animal,* M.
[23] *Quando,* M.
[24] *Quanteque,* M.
[25] *Illam quam preminent dignitatem,* M.
[26] *Iusserunt . . . exequentur,* M.
[27] *Istarum,* M.
[28] *Abathie,* M., which reads *abbathias* below.
[29] M. omits *fame aut.*
[30] *Optinet,* M.

saepius et frequenter,[31] et ibi conuenticula faciunt, ubi et conspirationes inueniunt, et eas cum opportunum viderint exequuntur.

Quintam obseruantiam habent quod quilibet qui potest tantum de suis possessionibus relinquere quod de ipsarum fructibus possit viuere unus homo, talis, si vult,[32] Ecclesiam unam facit in proprio campo, vinea, siue domo, et sacerdotem quem vult instituit in eadem et sui in posterum successores; in quibus, quia frequenter ad eas conueniunt, conspirationes possunt, ut consueuerunt in malum dominii pertractare; ubi tanto liberius quanto secretius, et tanto licentius [P. 60] quanto occultius ordinantur. Er ita sub deuotionis specie iniquitas tegitur, et occultatur proditio sub pallio pietatis.[33] Quantum vero ad quinque[34] praedicta in melius corrigenda poterit per quinque remedia prouideri.

[M. 18 v]. Primum remedium est quod boni ac probati viri et Deum timentes de his partibus oriundi illic[35] in Episcopos praeferantur.[36] Et quia episcopatus ibi multi sunt, et non habent [37]unde viuant nisi viliter[37] et abjecte, episcopatus duo vel tres in unum uniri poterunt sicut videbitur faciendum.

Secundum est quod de his partibus ducantur religiosi diuersorum [38]ordinum prouidi et honesti, qui possessiones et reditus habere possint secundum sui[38] ordinis instituta; de quibus praeficiantur Abbates in monasteriis ut[39] pro firmitate dominii videbitur expedire.

Tertium est quod illuc conuentus religiosorum mendicantium deducantur, qui cum linguam sciant,[40] confessiones audiant et injungant poenitentias salutares. Qui et populum ut in fide permaneat[41] poterunt commonere, et ut in dominii [42]fidelitate perseuerent,[42] se habeant confirmare.

Quartum est quod de Ecclesiis ciuitatis aliquae praefatis religiosis mendicantium assignentur, et in eisdem eorum conuentus etiam statuantur,[43] aliquae vero sacerdotibus secularibus[44] partium concedantur.

Quintum est quod omnes illae ecclesiunculae, quae magis speluncae maleficiorum atque latibula possunt dici, penitus diruantur, ne videamur conuenticula eorum de sanguinibus congregare.

Praedictis[45] igitur sex ordinationibus sic dispositis et firmatis, sicut

[31] *Frequequencius,* M., which reads *oportunum* below.
[32] *Prout male,* M.
[33] *Putatis,* M.
[34] *Quenque,* M.
[35] *Illuc,* M., which reads *hiis* above, *sicud* below.
[36] *Proferuntur,* M.
[37] *Unde nisi valde viliter,* M.
[38] *Ordinum pro sui,* M., omitting all the rest of these twelve words.
[39] *De quibus,* M.
[40] *Didiscerunt,* M.
[41] *Permaneant,* M., which reads *comonere,* below.
[42] *Fidelitatem perseueranter,* M.
[43] *Statuentur,* M.
[44] Here M. adds *istarum.*
[45] *Predicans,* M.

in sex diebus legitur Deus omnia condidisse et in septimo quieuisse, sic nouus etiam Imperator in firmitate solida omni dubietate remota imperium possidebit atque in pacis sabbato pepetuo requiescet. De castris et ciuitatibus custodiendis, et de iis quae necessaria fuerint [46]in nuedis[46] atque hominibus fidelibus committendis in praesenti opusculo non describo. Sufficit in eo illa utcunque[47] depingere et ad memoriam reuocare quae[48] non sunt omnibus manifesta.

De regno Rassiae, quomodo faciliter possit capi.

Ad regnum Rassiae redeo capiendum, cujus tanta erit facilitas obtinendi quanta [P. 61] voluntas fuerit inuadendi. Et ut hoc melius videatur, quaedam incitantia ad ipsum inuadendum et quasdam conditiones[49] faciles ad capiendum breuiter hic[50] describo. Regnum illud pauca et quasi nulla[51] loca habet fortia vel munita, sed totum est vile et casalia siue fossata, et penitus sine muris.

Aedificia et palatia tam Regis quam aliorum nobilium sunt de paleis et de lignis. Nunquam vidi ibi aliquod palatium siue domum de lapide nec de terra nisi in ciuitatibus maritimis[52] Latinorum. Illud [53]regnum est in blado, vino, oleo, et[53] carnibus opulentum.[54] Aquis praeterfluentibus fontium et fluminum est amoenum. Nemoribus, pratis, montibus, planis, et[55] vallibus est jocundum. Diuersarum ferarum nationibus est repletum. Et breuiter quicquid ibi nascitur est electum, et specialiter in parte illa quae situm obtinet supra mare. In regno illo sunt actu nunc quinque minae auri pariter cum argento in quibus magistri continue operantur. Sunt nihilominus argenteriae cum auro mixtae veraciter nunc repertae in[56] aliis locis pluribus et diuersis. Et cum hoc sunt ibi magna nemora et condensa.[57] Quicunque ergo habebit[58] regnum illud, habebit veraciter unum jocale appetibile[59] et optandum in toto seculo.[60]

Hoc inter cetera facit ad dictum regnum facilius capiendum quod sunt ibi duae nationes, una videlicet Albanensium[61] et[62] Latinorum, qui

[46] *Innuendis* or *imminendis,* M.
[47] *Utrumque,* M., which reads *comittendis,* above.
[48] *Quam,* M.
[49] *Codiciones,* M.
[50] *Hoc,* M.
[51] *Ulla,* M.
[52] *Maritinis,* M.
[53] *Regnum in blado, vino est et oleo et,* M.
[54] *Opulatum,* M.
[55] *Ac,* M.
[56] M. omits *in* here; reading *nichilominus* above.
[57] *Condempsa,* M.
[58] *Habuerit,* M.
[59] *Apprehensibile,* M.
[60] Here M. adds *preciosum.*
[61] *Albamensium,* M.
[62] Here M. adds *alia.*

omnes sub fide[63] et obedientia Romanae Ecclesiae perseuerant, et secundum hoc habent Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, et Abbates, ac inferiores status et gradus religiosos et clericos[64] seculares. Latini habent sex ciuitates cum suis Episcopis, primam[65] Antibarum archiepiscopalem, deinde Catharensem, Dulcedinensem,[66] Suaciensem,[67] Scutarensem, et Driuacensem; quas quidem solum[68] Latini inhabitant. Populus vero earum siue Albanenses in tota ipsarum diocesi[69] extra muros. Sunt etiam Albanensium [M. 19 r] quatuor ciuitates, videlicet [70]Polati, Minoris, Salutensis, et Albanensis.[70] Quae omnes cum praedictis ciuitatibus Latinorum Antibarensi Archiepiscopo et Ecclesiae [71]jure metropolitico[71] sunt subjectae. Et licet Albanenses aliam omnino linguam a Latina habeant et diuersam, tamen literam Latinam habent in usu et in omnibus suis libris. Latinorum igitur potentia infra ciuitatum suarum ambitum continetur. Extra enim suas ciuitates, licet possessiones vinearum obtineant et camporum, tamen nullum quod Latinum populum habeat castrum possident neque villam. Albanenses autem, quia major natio est, [P. 62] ponerent[72] in campo plus quam quindecim milia equitum ad omnem actum belli secundum morem et modum illius patriae expeditos et strenuos bellatores. Et praedicti tam Latini quam Albanenses sub jugo importabili et durissima seruitute illius odiosi et abominandi Sclauorum dominii sunt oppressi, populus scilicet angariatus, clerus dejectus et minoratus, Episcopi et Abbates saepius vinculati, nobiles exheredati et in personis propriis captauati, Ecclesiae tam episcopales quam aliae dissipatae et in suis juribus[73] annullatae, monasteria disperdita et destructa. Ipsi omnes et eorum singuli in praedictorum Sclauorum sanguine manus suas crederent consecrare quando viderent aliquem principem de Francorum eis partibus apparere, quem contra dictos[74] nepharios nostrae veritatis et fidei inimicos facerent ducem bellis. Cum praedictis autem Albanensibus [75]mille milites[75] Franci et quinque vel sex milia peditum procul dubio totum tale et tantum regnum cum facilitate nimia obtinerent. Ad hoc autem, Domine mi Rex, me exhibeo[76] redditurum coram justo judice, rationem quod magis esset gratum et acceptum sacrificium coram eo si praedictum[77] imperium

[63] Here M. adds *ritu*.
[64] M. omits *clericos*.
[65] *Prima*, M.
[66] *Dulcediensem*, M.
[67] *Suacinensem*, M.
[68] *Soli*, M.
[69] *Diocesis*, M.
[70] *Polati minoris maioris Polati minoris Sabatensis et Albanensis*, M.
[71] M. omits *iure*, and reads *metropolitano*.
[72] *Poneret*, M., which reads *litteram*, above; *abhominandi*, below.
[73] *Viribus*, M.
[74] Here M. adds *Sclauos*.
[75] *Et Latinis nulli milites et*, M.
[76] *Exibeo et expono*, M.
[77] *Predicta*, M., which below reads *tantumdem*.

atque regnum suae veritati et fidei redderetis quam si tantundem et plus de Sarracenorum dominio subderetis.

Primus libellus cum octo suis[78] *est expletus. Secundus libellus*[79] *incipit, qui cum* [80]*suis quatuor partibus*[80] *finietur.*

Postquam auxiliante Deo primum libellum expediuimus,[81] quo docente per terras [82]fidelium et[82] infidelium Christianorum exercitus Domini salubriter est deductus, ad secundum libellum expediendum breuiter me transduco: qui, sicut dixi superius et promisi, in quatuor residuis partibus concludetur, per quas docebitur quomodo exercitus Domini de terris Christianorum ad terras infidelium, qui nobiscum in nomine Christiano participare refugiunt et crucem odiunt, transferatur. Et quia si caput est sanum,[83] membra reliqua bene valent, ideo primo[84] est circa Regis custodiam insistendum. Dominus enim Rex in tanto negotio habebit cum multarum nationum gentibus conuersari, et se eis [85]affabilem exhibere,[85] consilia petere, sicut diuersi casus veniunt et occurrunt. Et idcirco est cum summa diligentia declarandum[86] quibus possit se et sua secreta committere, et a [P. 63] quibus gentibus sibi debeat praecauere. Praeter igitur Graecos, a quibus esse cauendum supra rationes tetigi euidentes, praeter etiam hoc quod generaliter in orientalibus nationibus vix in his quae homo videt ad oculum est credendum specialiter tamen sex conditiones[87] hominum annotabo[88] a quibus quantum ad quatuor summopere est praecauendum,[89] videlicet in reuelatione secreti, in conuictu concubinii,[90] in familiaritate[91] obsequii, et[92] in commissione cujuscunque[93] negotii in quo posset occasio imminere periculi.[94]

Primo ergo loco pono Armenos, eo quod nec ad fidem catholicam nec ad Romanam Ecclesiam nec etiam ad se ipsos veritatem unquam et fidelitatem integre seruauerunt. Ipsi[95] inter omnes orientales sunt haeretici pessimi, et tam clerus quam populus multis erroribus inuoluti; de quibus quidem erroribus per singula disserere, quia non est praesentis

[78] Here M. adds *partibus.*

[79] Here M. omits *libellus.*

[80] *Iiij suis partibus,* M.

[81] *Expedimuus,* M.

[82] M. omits *fidelium ac,* reading *excercitus, sicud,* as usual, below.

[83] Here M. adds *multorum.*

[84] *Prima,* M.

[85] *Effabilem exibere,* M.

[86] *Declinandum,* M., which reads *comittere, hiis,* below.

[87] *Coridiciones,* M.

[88] *Annotalio,* M.

[89] *Cauendum,* M.

[90] *Contubernii,* M.

[91] *Famuliaritate,* M.

[92] Here M. omits *et.*

[93] *Cocuscunque,* M.

[94] *Pericula,* M.

[95] Here M. adds *omnes.*

operis, praetermitto; licet veraciter dici possit quod non est error in orientali aliqua natione quin ipsi in parte [M. 19 v] non communicent vel in toto. Et quamuis Armeni de minori Armenia tantum, quae quondam Ciliciae dicebatur, quandam unionem fecerint cum Romana Ecclesia et confessionem[96] fidei verbo expresserint et in scriptis, quarum quidem unionis et confessionis ego motor, operator, atque receptor unus extiti de duobus fratribus Praedicatoribus quos Dominus Johannes Papa XXII[97] ad hoc specialiter inter cetera destinauit cum[98] adhuc ille populus destinet[99] in excelsis. Non enim potest mutare Indus[1] varietatem[2] nec Æthiops[3] pellem suam. Lupus etiam, quantumcunque videatur domesticus et appareat mansuetus, et ouina[4] pelle [5]sit desuper[5] contectus, semper tamen existit interius lupus rapax: qui si in siluis non inuenerit[6] quo voracitatem faciat consuetam, ita[7] et non aliter domum reuertitur victus fame. Hoc sic[8] Armeni retinent et obseruant dum potentia Turchorum oppressi vel Sarracenorum, tributis et mansionibus fatigati, ad Romanam Ecclesiam crebro veniunt et recurrunt; quos certe non tantum vinculum amoris et reuerentiae ad hoc attrahit et inducit quantum cogit[9] et impellit. Ad hoc autem clarius ostendendum quandam[10] exempli causam[11] breuiter hic subnectam. Armeni siquidem isti minoris Armeniae, de quibus texitur sermo praesens,[12] coronam et nomen regium a Romanis Pontificibus [P. 64] et Imperatoribus habuerunt. Et tunc in signum subjectionis de pacto et de conuentione quaedam optima castra et forcia[13] Romanae Ecclesiae donauerunt, [14]duas pro Latinis[14] archiepiscopales Ecclesias erexerunt, et eas redditibus et possessionibus dotauerunt, monachorum nostrorum monasteria construxerunt, pueros suos Latinis imbuendos literis tradere promiserunt. Postquam vero adepti sunt regni nomen et gloriam affectatam, manum quam ad aratrum extenderant[15] retraxerunt. Castra enim per ipsos prius data Ecclesiae sunt ablata, monasteria aedificiis et habitatoribus

[96] *Confessione,* M.
[97] *XII,* M.
[98] *Tamen,* M.
[99] *Destinat,* M.
[1] *Pardus,* M.
[2] Here M. adds *suam.*
[3] *Thiops,* M.
[4] *Ouima,* M.
[5] *Desuper sit,* M.
[6] *Inuenitur,* M.
[7] *Tunc,* M.
[8] *Vere,* M.
[9] Here M. adds *necessitas.*
[10] *Quoddam,* M.
[11] *Causa,* M.
[12] *Patris,* M.
[13] *Fortia,* M.
[14] *Dominas per Latinas,* M.
[15] *Extendant,* M.

desolata, bona Tartensis[16] Ecclesiae, quae de praefatis sola et vinea[17] tantum restat, pro [18]maxima parte[18] occupata. Ego cum apud eos essem pro causa superius memorata, in quadam Ecclesia cujusdam monasterii quod fuerat Latinorum, a quo monachi expulsi fuerant et fugati, vidi per eos fieri stabulum jumentorum. Tunc etiam socius meus et ego duo pacta ab eis recepimus et firmata, videlicet quod conuentus Praedicatorum et Minorum ordinum construerent et ibi fratribus moraturis de necessariis prouiderent. Item quod pueros suos instrui facerent Latinis literis ac moribus edoceri.[19] Quae omnia usque hodie perficere neglexerunt. Praedicta qui bene considerat,[20] non sunt signa verae ac fundatae reuerentiae et [21]honoris ac[21] amoris, sed potius odii et rancoris. Transeunt et[22] faciunt cum suis duplicitatibus sua facta. Ipsi etiam tales sunt et tale inter se infidelitatis et discordiae semen habent quod sanguis et gladius usque ad hunc diem ab eorum domibus non recedunt. Ad quod ostendendum unum quod nostris temporibus contigit[23] inducam. Regis Armeniae nouem[24] filii, septem scilicet mares, et duae filiae[25] . . . extiterunt: quorum unus et ultimus, qui nunc ipsum regnum obtinet, pater fuit. Quos omnes, tam mares quam feminas, mors abstulit violenta, excepta una sola femina, quae nunc restat; quae tamen qualem finem faciet ignoratur. Unus enim ex praedictis fratribus alium gladio interemit, alius alium veneno extinxit, alius[26] alium in carcere strangulauit. Et sic omnes usque ad ultimum, qui etiam veneni perniciem non euasit, fuerunt in proprio sanguine fratricidae. Haec[27] autem non descripsi ut[28] propterea omnis eis fauoris beneficium [P. 65] et protectionis auxilium et gratiarum subsidium denegetur. Gaudent enim nomine Christiano quod quidem nomen inter paganos Christi[29] pauci retinent et conseruant. Apud etiam omnes orientales fideles filii Romanae Ecclesiae aestimantur. Sed dico pro tanto ut ab eis circa custodiam et[30] cautelam personae [M. 20 r] regiae teneatur[31] qui tales esse per facta euidentia veraciter denotantur.

Septimo[32] loco pono Gasinulos. Et vocantur Gasinuli qui ex patre

[16] *Carcensis,* M., apparently.
[17] *Vnica,* M., as P. corrects in margin.
[18] *Parte maxima,* M.
[19] *Ac doceri,* M.
[20] *Considerant,* M.
[21] M. omits *honoris ac.*
[22] M. omits *et* here.
[23] Here M. adds *hic.*
[24] *Nomen,* M.
[25] Here M. adds *femine,* reading of course *optinet* below.
[26] Here M. omits *alius.*
[27] *Hoc,* M.
[28] *Quod,* M.
[29] *Ipsi,* M.
[30] *Bonam,* M.
[31] *Caueatur,* M.
[32] *Secundo,* M.

Graeco et matre Latina vel ex patre Latino et matre Graeca fuerunt[33] generati. Hi in fide instabiles,[34] in promisso fallaces, in verbo mendaces, astuti in malo, ignorantes in bono, proterui ad superiores, proni ad seditiones,[35] habituati ad praedationes, ad crudelitates prompti, ad pietates duri, ad caedes [36]et mortes[36] auidi, in omnibus inquieti, bibuli et[37] ebriosi, sine fraeno incontinentes, gulae ac ventri cum intemperantia seruientes, nisi se ipsos[38] aut propter se ipsos penitus nil amantes,[39] Graecos se ostendunt cum Graecis, et Latinos se exhibent cum Latinis, omnibus omnia facti, non cum Apostolo ut lucri faciant, sed ut perdant. Tertio loco nomino Surianos. Et dicuntur Suriani qui de Suria hoc est de terra sancta et circa originem habuerunt. Isti quia nec pro libertate[40] pugnare nec patriam defendere potuerunt, de patria sua pulsi in diuersa, instabiles et proprias sedes[41] non habentes, vagi et profugi peruagantur: qui quanto magis sunt inopes et penitus nil habentes, tanto facilius promissis et[42] muneribus a fidelitate abducuntur[43] et ad varia pertrahuntur secundum quod occurrunt aliquando casus multiplices et fortunae. Quanto enim diutius[44] fuerunt cum diuersis nationibus orientalibus conuersati, tanto expressius atque tenacius malitias atque versutias plurium didicerunt.[45] Sed et si qui ex eis sunt diuites et[46] potentes, adhuc corde insatiabiles et affectu, diuitias sibi augeri et accumulari[47] cupiunt et honores. Quibus si non prouenerit[48] hoc quod optant, foederis omnis immemores festinant fidem atque fidelitatem frangere et a[49] juramentis atque promissionibus resilire. Ad hoc [50]usque tamen rancorem[50] occultant, dolum et dolorem dissimulando celant et per falsos applausus conceptum[51] malignandi donec, quod[52] exoptant, occurrat aduersarius ex objecto ad quem valeant transuolare, et in adjutorium manum dare, vires augere, et contra veros suos[53] aut amicos conceptam iniquitatem proditoriam parturire. Quilibet ergo caueat et attendat ne

[33] *Fuerint,* M.
[34] *Stabiles,* M.
[35] *Seductiones,* M.
[36] *Parati ad mortem,* M.
[37] M. omits *et* here.
[38] *Ipsis,* M.
[39] *Amant,* M., which reads *exibent,* below.
[40] *Vbertate,* M.
[41] *Sedes proprias,* M.
[42] Here M. adds *ex.*
[43] *Obducuntur,* M.
[44] M. omits *diutius.*
[45] *Didiscerunt,* M.
[46] *Aut,* M.
[47] *Accunulari,* M.
[48] *Prouenit,* M., which reads *inmemores aplausus,* below.
[49] M. omits *a* here.
[50] *Tamen usque ratorem,* M.
[51] Here M. adds *operiunt.*
[52] *Quam,* M.
[53] Here M. adds *dominos.*

istorum versuta nequitia,[54] subdola, et falsa,[55] exquisita sub [P. 66] bonitatis specie, sub mellis dulcedine virus eiciat, fel effundat, quibus [56]incautum decipiat[56] et obruant improuisum.

Quarto loco de Murtatis[57] est conditio describenda. Et dicuntur Murtati[57] qui de Turchorum ex uno parentum, ex altero vero de Graecorum progenie descenderunt. Hi tanto pejores esse ab initio suorum natalium comprobantur quanto[58] nequius ex copula duorum malorum sanguinum, Graecorum videlicet ac Turchorum, originem habuerunt; ut ex uno Sathan, [59]ex altero vero[59] diaboli dici possint.[60] Hi licet Christiani dicantur et sint, tamen a cultu et opere Christiano sunt plurimum alieni, dum armorum exercitio dediti qualicunque, nam nullam ut plurimum aliam artem[61] habent, intendunt assidue vitiis et peccatis quibus consueuit illud genus hominum implicari, ad nullum armorum exercitium[62] sunt idonei reputandi quod requirat bellatorem fidelem strenuum, et constantem, nisi ad furta, praedas, incendia, et rapinas. Quod quia semper faciunt et exercent, semper istis inuigilant et intendunt. Idcirco sciunt ea[63] cautius texere et subtilius ordinare quam quicunque alius cogitare. Continuum[64] enim eorum in istis studium et conamen in summo culmine magisterii eos ponit.

Quinto loco baptizati neophyti describuntur. Baptizati[65] autem [M. 20 v] nominantur illi qui de Turchis vel Sarracenis Christianam fidem suscipiunt et baptismum. Hi quanto magis sunt a Christianorum sanguine separati, quanto[66] magis sunt[67] Turchorum seu Sarracenorum nephandis moribus educati, quibus [68]ad Christianorum caedem,[68] ad innocentium necem, ad Ecclesiarum incendia, ad sacrorum spolia, ad nominis Christi detestationem, ad crucis execrationem, ad odium fidei, ad reprobationem baptismi, ad deletionem[69] gentis et generis Christiani a suis prauis instructoribus, sceleratis parentibus eorum viperina soboles, serpentina progenies erudita extitit et imbuta, tanto[70] est in eis de promissis credendum, de fidelitate sperandum atque de constantia bonitate[71] aliqua praesumendum. Tales sunt quod vix aut nunquam inueni

[54] Here M. adds *innata malicia Amicicia.*

[55] *Fallacia,* M.

[56] *Tantum decipiant et deiciant,* M.

[57] *Murcatis . . . Murcati,* M., apparently.

[58] *Quando,* M.

[59] *Et ex altero,* M.

[60] *Possunt,* M., which reads *hii, excercicio,* below.

[61] M. omits *artem.*

[62] *Excercium,* M.

[63] *Eas,* M.

[64] *Conciuum,* M.

[65] *Raptici,* M.

[66] *Tanto,* M.

[67] Here M. adds *a.*

[68] *A Christianorum cede in,* M.

[69] *Delectationem,* M.

[70] Here M. adds *minus.*

[71] Here M. adds *virtute aut bonitate.*

qui de ipsis baptismum susceperit ut aliquid optimum in eo omne[72] crediderit, aut fidem Christi reputauerit meliorem, seu legem nostram aestimauerit puriorem. Sed ideo suscepi[73] quia vilem [74]suam conditionem[74] intendunt meliorem aut directam[75] fortunam mutare, vel onerosam refugere paupertatem, aut serui prius atque captiui desiderant libertatem, vel certe quia propter sua importabilia vitia aut perpetrata flagitia habitare nequeunt[76] inter suos. Tales sunt quod vix [P. 67] est qui baptismum seruauerit aut in fide perstiterit nisi [77]quandiu opportunitas[77] illi defuit a [78]Christianitate vel[78] ad vomitum redeundi. Per quod quidem apostasiae[79] genus et sacrilegii modum apud suos cujuscunque delictionis,[80] transgressionis, offensionis, atque[81] flagitii remissio obtinetur, et insuper eis acquiritur laus et honor quod legi [82]inter tale negationis opprobrium[82] intulerunt. Tales igitur[83] sunt quod lectis et auditis falsitatibus per eos varie ordinatis et[84] dominorum suorum proditiosis mortibus perpetratis, eorum peruersitatem et morum ac operum tortuositatem nec penna scribere nec lingua sufficit enarrare.

Quantum autem ad illa quatuor quae supra posui, in quibus a praefatis quinque generibus hominum attendendum esse moneo et cauendum, non[85] intelligo quod quantum ad alia exteriora et[86] communia judicem eis regiae pietatis gremium restringendum et munificae largitatis beneficium denegandum. Exercitui namque quantum ad multa alia perutiles esse possunt. Sciunt enim multi ex ipsis patriam, itinera recta et praua, passus dubios et securos, aquas publicas, et occultas insidias contra hostes subtiliter ordinare, et ipsorum contra nostros[87] detegere, mansiones hostium explorare, praedas astute[88] inquirere, capere, et caute[89] deducere, exploratores aduersariorum cognoscere, circumuenire, apprehendere, et ab eis intentiones, dispositiones, et consilia hostium extorquere. Saepius in hostium habitum se transmutant, et inter eos incogniti conuersantur. Et sic quae didicerunt et viderunt eorum abscondita referunt et secreta. Aliquando ad loca eminentia et pro-

[72] *Esse*, M.; P. corrects in margin to *homine*.
[73] *Suscepit*, M.; P. corrects in margin to *suscipiunt*.
[74] *Condicionem suam*, M.
[75] *Deiectam*, M.
[76] *Nequieverunt*, M.
[77] *Quamdiu oportunitas*, M.
[78] *Christianitatis itinere recedendi et*, M.
[79] *Impostasie*, M.
[80] *Delectacionis*, M.
[81] *At*, M.
[82] *Nostre tale negociacionis obprobium*, M.
[83] *Iterum*, M.
[84] Here M. omits *et*.
[85] Here M. adds *ita*.
[86] *Atque*, M.
[87] *Ipsos*, M.
[88] *Astricte*, M.
[89] *Ante*, M.

pinqua hostium castris se ingerunt;[90] ubi habent[91] coelum pro tecto, pro delicatis cibariis panem durum, pro vinis variis aquam claram, atque pro lectis mollibus duras petras; ubi et nocte rigescunt frigore, die vero caloribus exuruntur. Sic perseuerant in iis et perdurant donec in castris hostium viderint quid disponant, quid agant, quid ordinent, quid intendant. De quibus omnibus, quia res est periculi, cum maturitate et cautela debita est credendum.

Sexto loco execrandos et fugiendos nomine[92] Assasinos; qui se ipsos venales faciunt, sanguinem [93]hominis sitiunt,[93] pretio innocentem perimunt, salutem et vitam hominis paruipendunt. Qui, sicut diabolus se in lucis angelum transfigurans,[94] dum gestus, habitus,[95] [M. 21 r] mores, et actus diuersarum nationum et gentium, personarum etiam particularium imitantur, et sic sub ouina pelle celati ante mortem ingerunt quam noscantur.

[P. 68] Quia vero istos non vidi, sed de ipsis haec fama vel scriptura veridica[96] teste noui, aperire non valeo ampliora nec dare notitiam pleniorem. Si enim per mores vel per signa quaecunque eos denuntiem cognoscendos, in iis mihi[97] et aliis sunt ignoti. Si per nomen ipsorum notitiam posse judicem apprehendi, tam execrabilis est eorum professio et tam abominabilis uniuersis quod ipsum nomen pro posse gestiui[98] occultare. Hoc unum solum remedium esse scio, quod Regis custodia et tutela, quod in domo tota regia pro quocunque seruitio, quocunque[99] modico aut momentaneo siue vili nullus penitus admittatur nisi cujus patria, locus, genus, conditio, et persona certa plene et liquide sint[1] nota.

Explicit prima et nona pars. Secunda et decima pars ostendit [2]transitum maris[2] breuem, quinque continens rationes.

Descriptis[3] conditionibus hominum malignorum, a quorum oportet Regem[4] fallaciis praecauere, nunc in secunda et decima parte describendus est ille transitus maris breuis, quo expleto exercitus Domini transire usque in Israel[5] mare aliud non habebit, sicut non habent[6] a Francia usque ibi. Capta siquidem Constantinopoli, transitus hic patet

[90] *Iunxerunt,* M.
[91] *Habuit,* M., which reads *cibariis delicatis, claram aquam,* below.
[92] *Nomino,* M.
[93] *Hominum sciciunt,* M.
[94] *Transfugurans,* M.
[95] Here M. adds *linguas.*
[96] *Mendica,* M.
[97] *Tamen,* M.
[98] *Gestiunt,* M., which reads *abhominabilis,* above.
[99] *Quantumcunque,* M.
[1] *Sunt et,* M.
[2] *Maris transicio,* M.
[3] *Distinctis,* M.
[4] Here M. adds *pari.*
[5] *Ierusalem,* M.
[6] *Habuit,* M.

ante [7]oculos ex aduerso,[7] breuis, facilis, et[8] utilis, et securus. Qui quidem transitus est unum brachium maris strictum a[9] mari Pontico ad mare mediterraneum diriuatum[10] et diuersis nominibus nuncupatum.

In aliquibus enim libris dicitur[11] Hellespontus, in aliis vero Bosphorus,[12] in aliis autem brachium sancti Georgii nominatur. Ad ostendendum autem quod in hoc loco sit magis congruum et expediens atque necessarium Sarracenos inuadere crucis hostes quam in quacunque[13] alia parte mundi quinque explico rationes.

Prima ratio est propter ipsius transitus breuitatem; per quod quidem soluetur[14] quod supra promissum est, talia scilicet itinera demonstrare et per talem viam exercitum deducere procedentem ubi parum vel nihil de maris transitu remaneret; ubi propter conseruationem equorum, propter quietem personarum, propter etiam utilitates et commoditates[15] assequendas, maris molestias, grauamina, atque dispendia varia, et incommoda multa . . .[16] non habet exercitus sustinere. Iste est ille transitus sic facilis et sic breuis quod ex litore uno ad aliud potest vox unius hominis percipi et audiri. In hoc statu[17] posset taliter ordinari quod ab una parte ad aliam transiret[18] totus exercitus super pontem, licet istud [P. 69] necessitas non exposcat. Sine hoc enim erit transitus facilis atque breuis liber.

Secunda ratio est, quia ibi inuadi[19] possunt Sarraceni cum minori nostrorum periculo et cum majori facilitate et commodo quam in aliqua parte in qua hostes fidei dominentur. Quod quidem [20]breuiter ostenditur[20] triplici ratione. Prima est, quia ibi statim ut ad terram aduersariorum descenditur occurrit aspectu[21] campus latus, ubi non sunt fortalicia,[22] non nemora, non valles, non latibula, non fossata, in quibus possint hostium insidiae occultari.

Secunda ratio,[23] quia cum exercitus ad terras inimicorum transierit, si bellum ingruerit ex aduerso, statim sani refocillati, validi atque fortes nostri exponi poterunt bellatores cum equis potentibus atque velocibus et ab omnibus laboribus recreatis. Tertia ratio est, quia exercitus

[7] *Oculo ex auerso,* M.
[8] Here M. omits *et.*
[9] *Ex,* M.
[10] *Deriuatum,* M.
[11] M. omits *dicitur.*
[12] *Bosforus,* M.
[13] *Quaque,* M.
[14] *Saluetur,* M.
[15] Here M. adds *plurimas.*
[16] Here M. supplies *minis.*
[17] *Strictu,* M.
[18] *Transirret,* M.
[19] *Iuandi* or *inandi,* M., which reads *comodo* below.
[20] *Ostenditur breuiter,* M.
[21] *Aspectui,* M.
[22] *Fontilia,* M.
[23] Here M. adds *est.*

habebit Constantinopolim de propinquo cum tota sua maritima[24] regione. Unde subsequentur de facilitibus[25] recens et breuiter omnia quae fuerint opportuna. Ista tria commoda in aliqua parte quantum [26]mundus gerat[26] quem Sarraceni detinent occupatum simul concurrere posse non judicabit nisi qui fuerit inexpertus, [M. 21 v] cui minime in sua sententia est credendum. Quae quidem commoda[27] sunt exercitui plurimum appetenda, ubi et quando fuerit cum hoste valido confligendum. Nam contraria iis [28]plurimos exercitus[28] in magnam ruinam et perniciem deduxerunt. Nec praesumendum quin hostes totam armatis in fortitudine[29] operiant regionem ubi sciuerint[30] Dei exercitum declinare, ut in ipso principio resistant totis viribus et conatu. Ubi per consequens accedendum est et cum sollicitudine prouidendum ne aliquid [31]contra haec et contra[31] alia possit occurrere improuisum. Cum prouidentia namque nil occursus nocere poterit malignantium. Tertia ratio est, quia si bene consideretur et diligentius attendatur, a strictu [32]Jubaltariae, quando[32] per maris litora Africae et Aegypti et ultra procedendo per Suriam et Asiam[33] usque Constantinopolim veniendo, non est locus aliquis terrae hostium contiguus vel propinquus in quo post maris labores possit exercitus recreari antequam ad praelium exponatur, nec est portus aliquis ad quem possit tute noster exercitus cum nauili recipi nec etiam declinare qui non per Sarracenos hostes fidei teneatur.[34] Sed si quis opponeret contra illa quae [P. 70] ponuntur in praefata secunda et tertia ratione, quod scilicet Armenia[35] minor videatur esse sufficiens ad praedicta, ad hoc per quemcunque expertum faciliter respondetur. Ista enim Armenia pro tanto exercitu victualibus non abundat, imo frequenter non sufficit pro se ipsa. Item portum penitus nullum habet nisi portum qui Palorum dicitur in quodam deserto loco et ab omni habitatione penitus elongato, qui etiam propter sui paruitatem et strictam capacitatem portus non est pro tanto exercitu appellandus. Item quando illud[36] exercitus declinasset, quo ulterius versus terram Soldano subjectam procedere[37] non haberet, sed oporteret eum retrocedere versus Turquiam, per quam moneo procedendum, ut circumgirando per medios hostes Turchos per locum alium versus terram sanctam inueniret [38]et faceret sibi viam.

[24] *Maritana,* M.
[25] *Facili tribus,* M., which below reads *oportuna, comoda.*
[26] *Gerat mundus,* M.
[27] *Commota,* M.
[28] *Excercitus plurimos,* M.
[29] Here M. adds *sua.*
[30] *Sciunt,* M.
[31] *Circa . . . circa,* M.
[32] *In baltarie girando,* M., which reads *Affrice,* below.
[33] Here M. adds *et.*
[34] *Teneantur,* M.
[35] Here M. adds *pro tanto exercitu,* reading *habundat,* below.
[36] *Illuc,* M.
[37] *Procedent,* M.

Passus enim montanae[38] nigrae, quos de Armenia in terra hostium haberet necessario permeare, sunt difficiles et[39] stricti, qui et[40] a Sarracenis Soldani hodie possidentur. Item nunquam legi nec audiui per aliquem expertum fieri mentionem quod ad partes praedictae Armeniae passagium in suo principio debeat applicare.

Quarta ratio est, quia caput hostis est primitus conterendum. Quis enim de dracone reputat se victorem nisi prius [41]praeciderit caput[41] ejus? Ponere namque se in mediis hostibus importat magnum periculum et discrimen. Quod quidem contingeret, si alibi et alicui primo vellet quis Sarracenicum [42]inuadere hostem[42] quam ut dico. Cujus exempli causam induco qui enim in subsidium terrae sanctae sua itinera dirigebant, quando[43] et Tripolis et tota illa maritima[44] regio a Christi fidelibus tenebatur,[45] se in medium hostium committebant[46] habentes contra Soldanum gerere bellum unum et aliud contra Turchos. Et haec veraciter causa erat quare Reges Franciae et Angliae et alii fortes principes et potentes qui ad loca illa hostes aggredi attentabant frustrati a spe et opere remanebant.[47] Qui vero obiceret quod per haec quae dicunt,[48] (Nam[49] contra Soldani potentiam confringendam esset prius, et fortius insistendum, qui magis quam Turchi Sarracenorum caput esse creditur et probatur) ad hoc respondeo per quintam quae sequitur rationem.

Quinta[50] ratio ostendit quod melius, facilius, et utilius est Turchos [M. 22 r] prius [P. 71] conterere quam[51] Soldanum. Et hoc[52] per tria media sic ostendo. Primum medium est, quia Turchi possunt Soldano adjutorium exhibere, Soldanus vero Turchis nullum subsidium dare potest. Si enim Soldanus vellet gentes in Turchorum adjutorium destinare, [53]oporteret eas[53] fines Imperatoris Persidis pertransire. Cum autem [54]iste Imperator[54] Soldani hostis et aemulus perseueret, non permitteret sibi suspectum exercitum ingredi fines suos, nec etiam Soldanus committeret in potestate sui aemuli gentem suam. Turchos vero Imperator idem, cum non sint sui aemuli neque hostes, imo sibi seruiunt sub tributo, [55]illi scilicet qui sunt magis propinqui Soldano, et qui pos-

38 M. omits these seven words after *inueniret* and before *nigre.*

39 *Atque,* M.

40 M. omits *et* here.

41 *Prescinderet capud,* M.

42 *Hostem inuadere,* M.

43 Here M. adds *Accon.*

44 *Maritina,* M.

45 *Tenebantur,* M.

46 *Comittebant,* M., which reads *ffortes,* below.

47 Here M. adds *et si quid de terris illis ceperant non poterat per capita hostilia integra permanebant.*

48 *Dicuntur,* M.

49 M. omits *nam* here, and reads *forcius* below.

50 *Vinta,* M., which leaves blank space for (illuminated) *Q.*

51 M. omits *quam* here.

52 *Hec,* M.

53 *Oportet,* M., omitting *eas.*

54 *Imperator iste,* M.

sunt ei subsidium exhibere, pro quocunque arma sumerent, nullatenus impediret, nisi forte sui jura imperii molestarent. Et si quis forte opponeret quod ex quo Turchi Imperatori Tartarorum Persidis seruiunt sub tributo,[55] videretur quod Tartari deberent ipsos Turchos tanquam suos contra nostros defendere et tueri, et sic noster exercitus grauaretur, si contra[56] tantam multitudinem bellum gerere [57]oporteret,[57] non esse sine[58] periculo et difficultate atque impedimento hujus itineris videretur, taliter respondetur ad hoc. Sicut ex [59]praemissis habetur[59] inter Imperatorem Persidis et Soldanum [60]sunt semper[60] odia et inimicitiae capitales. [61]Itaque unus[61] alterum nititur destruere et confundere toto posse. Causa hujus est haec. Quando Tartari terras Chaldaeae atque Persidis inuaserunt, tunc in Baldaco[62] erat Calipha cui omnes Sarraceni de mundo suo modo talem reuerentiam exhibebant sicut per Christianos fideles summo Pontifici exhibetur. Et hic erat Soldanus pariter[63] et Calipha; quem Tartari, capta tota Chaldaea et Baldaco[62] ejus metropoli, occiderunt, ita quod ex tunc Calipha alius non surrexit.[64] Non enim potest esse Calipha qui non in Baldaco[65] faciat residentiam personalem.[66] Quicquid mali potest[67] Tartarus [68]contra Soldanum et Soldanus contra Tartarum machinatur. Si igitur Tartarus[68] sciret quod nostri[69] contra Soldanum procederent hostem suum, non dico quod [70]impediret in aliquo,[70] sed assero quod potius adjuuaret.[71] Jam enim dudum Casan Imperator Persidis audiens quod nostri passagium ordinarent, in nostrum seruitium et fauorem Soldanum in bello deuicit, et de suis plus quam quadraginta milia interfecit, ipsum fugere compulit, terras ejus bene per decem dietas inuasit, Damascum ciuitatem validam et [P. 72] totam illam prouinciam occupauit et multis diuitiis spoliauit, et ita diminuit vires[72] ejus quod si nostri ex parte nostra occurrissent, procul dubio terram sanctam et Ægyptum de facili occupassent. Iterum quando sanctus Ludouicus transiuit[73] ultra mare, statim in Cypro occurrerunt ei nuntii Tartarorum, non quae impedimenti sed quae amoris erant

[55] All this, from *illi scilicet* to *seruiunt sub tributo,* is omitted by M.
[56] M. omits *contra.*
[57] *Oportet quod,* M.
[58] M. repeats *sine.*
[59] *Promissis,* M., omitting *habetur.*
[60] *Semper sunt,* M.
[61] *Ita quod unus ad,* M., reading *Chaldec̄,* below.
[62] *Baldato,* apparently, M.
[63] M. omits *pariter.*
[64] *Insurrexit,* M.
[65] *Baldano,* M.
[66] Here M. adds *quod quiddem Tartari non permittunt et idcirco.*
[67] Here M. adds *igitur.*
[68] M. omits these ten words, from *contra* to *Tartarus.*
[69] *Nil,* M.
[70] *In aliquo impediret,* M.
[71] *Adiuuarent,* M.
[72] *Viras,* M., which reads *Egiptum, Cipro,* below.
[73] *Transiit,* M.

potius offerentes, licet tunc temporis major eos quam nunc feritas occuparet. Nec dubium apud aliquem qui conditiones illorum nouit[74] Tartarorum quin statim[75] nostrum exercitum in Constantinopolim sciuerint aduenisse pacis et amicitiae atque confoederationis solemnes nuntios suos mittant. Esto etiam quod ipsi se disponerent ad obstandum, adhuc propter eos non est propositum nostri itineris dimittendum. Nam cum infidelibus de guerra sperandum et cogitandum est potius quam de pace, cum in hoc negotio nullus patriam propriam propter pacem deserat acquirendam. Deus enim ita[76] illos conteret, sic[77] istos et istos ita destruet sicut illos. Nec est de ipsis aliquid virtutis aut fortitudinis aestimandum. Non enim sunt illi Tartari qui fuerunt Sarracenati namque sunt, et ad mollitiem,[78] lubricitatem, et ad alia Sarracenorum vitia sunt dediti et intenti; et sic effeminati effecti usum et probitatem armorum solitam perdiderunt. Secundum medium est, quia posito quod Soldanus Turchis auxilium dare posset, ita est ejus exercitus virtute et [M. 22 v] viribus vacuatus propter otium et luxus carnis ac delectationes viles assiduas quibus vacant[79] contra rationis ordinem et naturae, quod Turchis et quibusque[80] aliis magis afferrent[81] impedimentum et taedium quam juuamen. Tertium est exemplum quod in facto simili legimus et habemus. Quia enim Petrus Heremita cum suo passagio quem ducebat per locum transiens[82] quem designo, et viam illam faciens quam moneo faciendam, ut[83] jam superius est expressum, vires Turchorum primitus conquassauit, ideo progressum habuit tam prosperum, tam felicem quod in breuissimo tempore fere totum orientem[84] acquisiuit, ita quod nunquam fuit passagium in acquisitione tam utile et in [85]victoriis atque triumphis tam solemne.[85]

Explicit secunda et decima pars. Tertia et undecima[86] pars ostendit loca et regiones unde ab omni parte exercitui[87] victualia habebuntur.

[P. 73] Ad praedicta accedit haec tertia et undecima pars, quae erit loca describere nominatim de quibus victualia haberi poterunt copiose, ita quod si unus[88] deficeret, alius abundabit. Circa quod sciendum quod

[74] *Nouerit,* M.
[75] Here M. adds *cum.*
[76] *Recta,* M.
[77] *Sicut,* M.
[78] *Mollicie,* M.
[79] *Vacat,* M.
[80] *Quibuscunque,* M.
[81] *Afferent,* M.
[82] *Tracie,* M.
[83] *Et,* M.
[84] *Oriens,* M.
[85] *Triumphis atque victoriis tam solempne,* M.
[86] *IX,* M.
[87] *Pro exercitu,* M.
[88] *Locus,* M. adds here, reading *dampno, Asya, Grecis, Ierusalem,* as usual, below.

regio illa ad quam primo jam moneo transeundum, licet modo Turchia vulgariter nuncupetur eo quod per Turchos hostiliter nunc tenetur cum damno et dedecore nominis Christiani, tamen in sacra pagina Asia nuncupatur,[89] ubi septem Ecclesiae denotantur a[90] quibus Apocalypsim[91] Johannes Euangelista et Apostolus destinauit. Ista regio a Graecis Anatolia[92] id est oriens appellatur, eo quod homo in Hierusalem a Constantinopoli procedendo semper ante se respiciat et habeat orientem. Ista regio est quasi [93]lingua[93] terrae mari a tribus partibus circumsepta. A dextris namque, id est, a meridie, habet mare Ægaeum; a sinistris vero, id est, ab aquilone, tenet mare Ponticum; a tergo autem, id est, ab occidente, scilicet versus Constantinopolim, mare deserit Hellespontum. Quae quidem regio quanto magis habet circa se loca et regiones maritimas[94] atque portus, tanto minus in necessariis posse deficere comprobatur. Omnis enim ciuitas siue locus qui supra mare cum portu congruo obtinet situm suum non potest communiter in necessariis habere penuriam nec defectum. Quomodo ergo ipsa Turchia siue Asia contra se ad praedictas tres partes, scilicet occidentem, meridiem, et aquilonem, regiones et loca[95] et portus accomodos[96] in quibus possunt[97] recipi vasa quaecunque ipsa victualia deportantes lucide et breuiter declaratur. Ab occidente igitur ex prouincia quae Thracia[98] nominatur veniet frumentum pro hominibus et [99]hordeum pro equis de Rodostro[99] castro, ad quod fere totum bludum[1] de Thracia[98] congregatur[2] incredibili quantitate, vinum autem de Gano et de [3]Polistre in abundantia[3] competenti. Ex prouincia etiam [4]Macedonia versus similiter occidentem[4] veniet frumentum et hordeum et legumina copiose, de Thessalonica, de Mamistro, et de Quisso, et de tota illius magnae circumadjacentia[5] regionis. De Marronia vero et de Aspriosa[6] similiter Macedoniae regionis vinum copiose, portabunt[7] optimum et electum. A dextris autem,[8] id est, a meridie, habemus por-

[89] *Nominatur,* M.

[90] M. omits *a.*

[91] *Apocolipsim,* M.

[92] *Anatholi,* M.

[93] *Quedam linga,* M.

[94] *Marinas,* M.

[95] Here M. adds *contineat optima ex quibus per mare valeant exercitui victualia prouenire quomodo etiam in se habeat.*

[96] *Comotos,* M.

[97] *Posunt,* M.

[98] *Tracia,* M.

[99] *Pro equis ordeum de Rodosto,* M.

[1] *Baldum,* M.

[2] Here M. adds *in.*

[3] *Pelistre in habundantia in habundantia,* M.

[4] *Macedonie versimiliter similiter occidente,* M., which of course reads *ordeum, habundanter,* below.

[5] *Circumiacentia,* M.

[6] *Aspirosa,* M.

[7] *Portabitur,* M.

[8] *Veniunt,* M.

tum et castrum Bondouiciae, per quem[9] blada omnis generis ex regione Blaquiae habebimus[10] abundanter. Habemus ad eandem partem ducatum Athenarum. Habemus etiam[11] Nigropontem. Quae quidem loca vinum, legumina, oleum, et caseos [P. 74] ministrabunt. A sinistris insuper, id est, ab aquilone, per totum mare Ponticum in regionibus Bulgariae, Gazariae, Richiae,[12] Anogasiae, et in mari de Caua[13] tot sunt loca et portus unde portantur[14] frumentum, carnes salsae, mel, cera,[15] pisces salsi, legumina, hordeum, et auena, non in mediocri sed excessiua etiam quantitate quod, ne verba protrahere videar et taedium inferam audienti, nominare per singula praetermitto. Si autem quis sollicitus sit de portubus ad quos naues haec victualia deferentes valeant applicare, breuiter satisfacio inqui[M. 23 r]renti, quod ad plagam meridionalem Asiae de qua loquor fere quot sunt miliaria, tot sunt portus boni, capaces, profundi modo debito et tranquilli.[16] Sunt etiam circa istam partem habitatae[17] insulae multa valde quae[18] habent in se vel faciunt de se portum. Poterunt etiam et debebunt galeae et naues portus eligere et mutare in tali conuenientia atque modo ut sicut terrestris exercitus mouebit sua castra inantia[19] et procedet, sic[20] pariter et propinque marinus exercitus subsequatur, ut sic terrestris exercitus possit de omnibus recentari.[21] De carnibus recentibus mentionem facere superfluum judicaui, cum Turquia[22] siue Asia in carnibus, vino, oleo, bladis, leguminibus, et omnibus aliis bonis terrae sic[23] ita egregia, fertilis, et abundans quod vere videbitur intuenti quod non in terra alia sit Ægyptus nec alia paradisus. Nec puto [24]quod exercitus indigeat[24] victualibus aliunde. In quo[25] abundans cautela et prouisio non nocebunt.[26]

Explicit tertia et undecima pars. [27]*Et duodecima pars sex continet rationes quod de hostibus fidei triumphum habendi faciliter sit sperandum.*

Quartam et duodeciman et finem pariter hujus directorii ordo praecipit expedire. Et erit de spe certa faciliter de Turchis et aliis fidei et

[9] *Quam,* apparently, M.
[10] *Habemus,* M.
[11] *Et,* M.
[12] *Bithie,* M.
[13] *Tana,* M.
[14] *Portatur,* M.
[15] *Sera,* M.
[16] *Transquilli,* M.
[17] Here M. adds *et non habitate.*
[18] Here M. adds *vel.*
[19] *In antea,* M.
[20] *Si,* M.
[21] *Retentari,* M.
[22] *Tarquina,* M., which of course has *Asya, habundans,* below.
[23] *Si,* M.
[24] *Exercitus quod indigeat,* M.
[25] *Nisi quod,* M.
[26] *Nocebit,* M.
[27] Here M. adds *quarta.*

crucis hostibus triumphandi. Ad quod declarandum[28] sex infero rationes.

Prima ratio est, quia eorum malitia est completa. Tantum enim durauit[29] eorum infida[30] peruersitas et in malitiis et peccatis perseuerans iniquitas quod clamorem opere compleuerunt. Constat etiam quod si bene gesserimus[31] et rectam in hoc opere tenuerimus voluntatem, Dominus est nobiscum. Et si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? Si enim consistant aduersum nos castra, si exurgat aduersum [P. 75] nos praelium, nihil timendum, in Domino est sperandum, qui est illuminatio mentis nostrae et[32] protector assiduus vitae nostrae. Non est enim fortitudo, non est consilium, non est prudentia contra ipsum. Nunquam legi in aliqua historia veteris testamenti quod nisi propter peccatum Deus [33]tradiderit populum suum[33] gladio inimici. Legi tamen aliquos peccatores de hostibus blasphemantibus nomen Dei magnas victorias reportasse. In omnibus historiis ultramarinis[34] nunquam recolo me legisse quod nostri per hostes fuerint debellati, siue bellum cum multis gererent vel cum paucis, nisi aut propter peccata quae in ipsis regnabant, vel propter proditiones quas inuicem committebant, seu propter discordias quas habebant, aut certe quia illam cum qua bellum initur dispositionem debitam negligebant.

Secunda ratio est, quia Turchi in se ipsos multipliciter sunt diuisi, et unus alium persequitur, spoliat, et occidit. Et fere tot sunt principes quot sunt villae, et tot sunt reguli quot sunt urbes. Cum autem ipsi in tot contraria et diuisa[35] dominia sint diuisi, certe ipsorum potius futura desolatio est credenda quam nostra victoria non speranda. Omne enim regnum in se ipsum diuisum praedixit Dominus desolandum.[36]

Tertia ratio est quae elicitur ex praemissa. Ideo enim[37] inter se, ut praemittitur, sunt diuisi, quia eorum capita, qui bella nouerant, se [38]mutuis seditionibus occiderunt,[38] aut serui proprios dominos mactauerunt,[39] et in locum[40] eorum qui plus de potentia habere poterant surrexerunt, atque in hujusmodi[41] contrarietate et alteratione dominii continue persistentes de probiori[42] militia quam haberent contigerunt strages variae et contingunt. Et sic consequenter sunt unione, numero, ac viribus[43] diminuti.

[28] *Demonstrandum,* M.
[29] *Ducauit,* M.
[30] *Imperfida,* M.
[31] *Gessimus,* M., which reads *nichil, numquam,* below.
[32] *Qui est,* M.
[33] *Populum suum tradidit,* M.
[34] *Ultramarniis,* M.
[35] *Diuersa,* M.
[36] *Desolabitur,* M.
[37] *Namque,* M.
[38] *Mututus cedibus mactauerunt,* M.
[39] *Occiderunt,* M.
[40] *Locis,* M.
[41] Here M. adds *in.*
[42] *Probrorum,* M.
[43] *Veribus,* M.

Quarta ratio[44] est quod quia propter causam praefatam[45] de se ipsis militiam non habebant, de suis[46] empticiis et captiuis conati sunt ipsam militiam reparare. Graecos igitur empticios vel captiuos, quos variis modis ad suam perfidiam pertraxerunt, libertati dederunt, et eis in uxores suas filias tradiderunt. Praeterea quia ipsi Turchi raro consueuerunt se [M. 23 v] in villis includere[47] ad manendum, sed omni tempore habitant sub tentoriis in campestri, ideo praedictis libertinis,[48] licet sint ad perfidiam Sarracenicam,[49] ut praemittitur, deprauati, non tamen possunt [P. 76] donum[50] Christianitatis et fidem atque baptismi gratiam, quae ante susceperant, penitus obliuisci, ideo constat mihi et[51] per eosdem quod si haberent aliquem nobilem et potentem qui eos per citam[52] victoriam [53]liberaret cui possent[53] tanquam columnae firmissimae adhaerere, et contra iniquos ipsum valerent scutum opponere defensiuum, essent parati fortalicia tradere et suae captiuitatis injuriam et infidelitatis ignominiam in dominorum[54] suorum sanguine vindicare. Quinta ratio est, quia ipsi Turchi bellandi modum et industriam nullam[55] habent, probitate et audacia carent, non habent arma defensiua seu etiam offensiua nisi tantum arcus, pharetras,[56] et sagittas, loricas quasdam[57] quae proprius dici possunt caraciae,[58] quam loricae, quae non bellis virorum sed magis ludis conueniunt puerorum. Equos habent multos. Nam fere omnes equitant, etiam rustici et pastores. Sed ipsi equi debiles sunt et parui, ita quod non possunt super se aliqua[59] arma defensiua nec equi nec milites tolerare: quae si ad tempus aliquod sustinerent, ad modici cursus exercitium caderent et creparent. Modus autem bellandi ipsorum est non in campo fortiter sistere [60]aut constanter resistere[60] vel audacter inuadere, sed semper fugere aut fugare, plus in insidiis quam viribus confidentes. Et breuiter concludendo, post Graecos et Babylonios[61] ipsi sunt vilior natio orientis. Sexta ratio est, quia ipsi et Sarraceni, quos idem esse judico in hac parte, nam omnes credunt et colunt unam

[44] *Vero,* M.
[45] *Prefactam* or *prefattam,* M.
[46] *Seruis,* M.
[47] *Concludere,* M.
[48] Here M. adds *castra custodienda et fortalicia tradiderunt et quia huiusmodi libertini.*
[49] *Sarracennincam,* M.
[50] *Domini,* M.
[51] *Etiam,* M.
[52] *Suam,* M.
[53] *Haberet cui possunt,* M., which of course has *columpne,* below.
[54] *Numerorum,* M.
[55] *Ullam,* M.
[56] *Feretras,* M.
[57] Here M. adds *habent de corio.*
[58] *Coracie,* M.
[59] *Ulla,* M., which reads *tollerare, Babilonios, abhominabilis, inmunda,* as usual, below.
[60] M. omits these three words (*aut . . . resistere*).
[61] Here M. adds *in factis armorum.*

bestiam Machometum, quandam [62]adinuenerunt prophetiam[62] quod in istis temporibus debet eorum secta abominabilis et immunda per quendam Francorum principem destrui et deleri. Et ideo [63]quandocunque audiunt[63] passagium ordinari, excidiosum praestolantur cum magna formidine finem suum. Quod et ego veraciter sum expertus cum essem in Perside ubi propter remotionem[64] terrarum a nobis minus[65] debet passagium formidari. Cum enim Dominus Papa Clemens passagium indixisset, et apud illos de Perside verbum hujusmodi sonuisset, tantus timor et tremor eorum corda percussit ac si jam Francorum gladios ad spatulas[66] habuissent.

Epilogus ad praedicta.

[67]Praedicta autem non posui[67] et expressi quod propterea negligi debeant [P. 77] dispositio,[68] ordo, obedientia, disciplina, et prudentia militaris; ut quia hostis sine virtute est, sine prudentia, inualidus et inconstans, debeat exercitus noster vage procedere et incaute ac esse sine debita regula dissolutus. Per incautelam namque et securitatem atque defectum custodiae, quae ex aestimatione fragilitatis hostium procedebant, multi magni fortes et potentes exercitus perierunt. Amazones et mulieres quae in praedicta Turquia [69]ciuitatem Ephesum[69] construxerunt leguntur multos fortes tyrannos et principes superasse. Romani enim principes ita castra sua, [70]ubicunque in expeditionem[70] procederent, fossatis vallabant; muro cingebant,[71] ac si[72] semper hostis adesset[73] qui eos bellis assiduis et incursionibus molestaret.[74]

Ego, qui vix est natio in toto oriente quam[75] ad bellum non viderim processisse, ad praemissa hoc unicum superaddo, quod non[76] [M. 24 r] Turchos despicabiles et despectos, et Aegyptios abominabiles atque viles, sed simul fortes, et[77] Tartaros, Indos, Arabes, atque Persas, sola potentia Franciae absque auxiliariis quibuscunque cum modo, ordine, disciplina, et dispositione congruis superaret. Hoc dico, hoc assero, hoc confirmo. Nec est aliud in [78]vero et experto[78] judicio formidandum; non est aliud,

[62] *Adueniunt prophesiam,* M.
[63] *Quandoque audiuit,* M.
[64] *Remociora,* M.
[65] *Minis* or *nimis,* M.
[66] *Spatulos,* M.
[67] *Predam autem posui,* M.
[68] *Disposi* (only), M.
[69] *Ciuitatum ciuitatem Ephesim,* M.
[70] *Ubicumque in expeditione,* M.
[71] Here M. adds *et in eis custodes ac vigiles disponebant.*
[72] M. omits *si.*
[73] *Adesse,* M.
[74] Here M. adds a section-heading, *Confirmacio predictorum.*
[75] *Quomodo,* M.
[76] Here M. adds *solum.*
[77] M. omits *et,* reading *Yndos, Ffrancie,* below.
[78] *Vere et experte,* M.

exclusis omnibus difficultatibus quae ad praedicta obici potuerunt,[79] metuendum, nisi[80] peccata propria impugnarent, aut modus directionis hujus viae debitus non adesset. Scio namque multos, scio contra[81] directionem hujusmodi itineris suas sententias probaturos; quibus non inuideo, non insulto, dummodo ad haec tria[82] experientia hos informet et utilitas propria. Per quemcunque[83] enim, Domine mi Rex, bene, recte, ac prospere tua itinera dirigantur. Hoc est quod intendo, hoc est quod cupio toto corde, ut te videam illaese[84] super [85]aspidem et basiliscum[85] ambulantem et draconem pedibus conculcantem ac tandem in sanctam Hierusalem tui sceptra regiminis moderantem et tanquam alter Dauid terrae infideles populos coaequantem.[86]

In fine conclusio monitoria sequitur ut in Deum tota mentis intentio dirigatur.

Igitur,[87] Domine mi Rex, ad hoc tam sanctum negotium exequendum non te ducat ostendendae tuae potentiae fastus, nec laudis propriae appetitus, nec elatio amplificandi[88] dominii, nec ambitio dominandi. Legimus namque quod Moysi [P. 78] fuit terrae sanctae promissio denegata quia pro se honorem et laudem appetiit, quae debuit dare Deo. Saul etiam meruit iram Dei, quia post victoriam sibimet erexit[89] fornicem triumphalem. In Machabaeorum libris quosdam de populo legimus[90] in manus hostium incidisse quia voluere[91] facere sibi nomen. Paganorum sunt haec[92] ut post optatos victorias et obtentas honores sibi celebrent et triumphos. Te autem, Domine mi, decet cum directione cordis, cum feruore deuotionis, et cum puritate intentionis attribuere gloriam et honorem immortali Regi, inuisibili, soli Deo, a quo debes[93] praemium expectare non momentaneum [94]et terrenum,[94] sed perpetuum et caeleste. Amen.

Explicit directorium uniuersum. [95]*Deo gratias in immensum. Amen.*[95]

[79] *Poterunt,* M.
[80] Here M. adds *si nos.*
[81] *Çirca,* M.
[82] *Certa,* M.
[83] *Quecumque,* M.
[84] *Ille se* (two words), M.
[85] *Basiliscum et aspidem,* M.
[86] *Torquentem,* M.
[87] *Gitur,* M.
[88] *Ampliandi,* M.
[89] *Erexerant,* M.
[90] *Legius,* M.
[91] *Voluerunt,* M.
[92] M. omits *haec.*
[93] *Debet,* M.
[94] M. omits these two words.
[95] M. omits these five words.